The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

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A Dry Democrat Looks Forward
By Wayne C. Williams

Re-open the Macintosh Case!
An Editorial

What Is a Dole?
An Editorial

The Crisis in British Socialism
By Reinhold Niebuhr

Fifteen Cents a Copy—Sept. 30, 1931—Four Dollars a Year

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September 30, 1931

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PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Managing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*

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Great Britain Suspends Gold Payments

Stabilization Is a Worldwide Need

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been urged for action at this convention, but equally of demands for every other project proposed in the country which would require increased federal expenditure." Nevertheless, the veterans' legislation was clearly in the foreground of everybody's thought. Certainly it was foremost in the President's mind. That is why he went to Detroit. So far as could be judged by the immediate reaction of the audience, his words carried weight and made a favorable impression. It would, indeed, be difficult to believe that the members of a patriotic organization would so far put their personal financial interests ahead of the public welfare as to back a raid upon the treasury at such a time as this. The President was wise as well as courageous in appealing, face to face, to the legion to consider first what service it can render to the country rather than what they can get from it.

David Starr Jordan, Scientist, Educator and Pacifist

IN HIS YOUTH David Starr Jordan acquired fame as a zoologist. In his middle years, while maintaining and enhancing his reputation as a scientist, he became still more widely known as an educator, as the first president and virtually the organizer of Leland Stanford university. But neither science nor education offered a wide enough field for his powers and interests, and in his old age he devoted his still unabated energies to social reform. It was said that at one time he knew more about fish than any other man in America, but his interest in humanity was greater than his interest in fish. So he became a student of heredity and eugenics, an advocate of world peace, and an apostle of temperance. His antipathy to alcohol dated from early in his career and many thousands have heard his famous lecture in which he said that, when a man invites another to have a drink, what he should say, if he spoke with scientific accuracy, is, "Come, let us paralyze our phagocytes together." During and after the war, Dr. Jordan became more and more internationally minded. He realized the inhumanity of war and the futility of militarism as a means of preserving peace, and raised his voice at every opportunity in favor of friendly and pacific attitudes among the nations, disarmament and the outlawry of war. He lived to the good age of eighty, and his death last week marked the passing of a great American.

The Japanese Take Mukden

AS USUAL, it is necessary to counsel extreme caution in reaching conclusions as to what has happened in Manchuria and who is to blame. All the reports so far cabled to this country are either the product of Japanese news agencies or originated in Chinese cities hundreds of miles from the scene of the fighting. It seems fairly certain that Japanese troops have occupied not only the Manchurian capital, Mukden, but all the important centers of southern Manchuria. Something approximating a Japanese military occupation of more than half of this large province has apparently been set up. Whether this was provoked by Chinese military aggressions, either on the Japanese-administerd South Manchurian railway or on Japanese soldiers acting as railway guards, is yet to be determined. It is also unknown as to how seriously the Chinese attempted to dispute the advance of the Japanese troops. It will be very hard indeed to apportion blame with certainty. The whole situation in Manchuria makes it easy to escape responsibility for breaches of the peace which may occur there. Technically, Manchuria is a Chinese province. But it is a province over which the central Chinese government, in Nanking, has no control, and in which the authority of the local governor, Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, is, in practice, reduced to a shadow by the presence of Russian and Japanese troops. Moreover, it is not clear that the Japanese troops, in this instance, acted on any higher authority than that of local commanders, and there are undisguised hints, in dispatches from Tokyo, of a break between the Japanese foreign office and the war office over the outburst of hostilities.

Will Manchuria Become an Eastern Balkans?

WITH this clash coming on the heels of the fighting between the Chinese and the Russians over the other railway in Manchuria, one wonders whether the prophecy that Manchuria is to be the Balkans of the orient is being fulfilled. The elements which may combine to produce major international trouble are certainly present in Manchuria in greater profusion than anywhere else in the east. In the first place, there is the foggy political situation, already mentioned. In the second place, there is the fact that the province is the nexus for the ambitions of three great nations. And in the third place, there is the economic urge involved in the colonization of one of the few remaining uncrowded fertile regions of Asia. Ever since the close of the world war, Manchuria has been pushing its way to the front in the economic life of the orient. It is already the home of the important soy bean industry, and it is rapidly becoming one of the world's principal wheat raising regions. Immigration has set in with a rush. The Chinese have gone north by the millions, and large colonies of Japanese have been settled in the province under the protection of the Japanese railroad administration. Some of this immigration has been of Koreans, who are now subjects of the Japanese empire. Clashes last summer led to the massacre of hundreds—it is alleged, thousands—of Chinese by Koreans. The failure of the Japanese authorities to prevent these outbreaks convinced the Chinese of virtual Japanese connivance. The temperature at Mukden, where Chinese authority and Japanese aggressiveness most directly clashed, has been steadily mounting. Now it seems to have

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boiled over. We expect that this incident will be patched up, but the prospects for a future and more serious outburst remain altogether too good.

Are We To Be Scared Into Humanity?

ONE aspect of the developing campaign for unemployment relief goes far toward supporting the thesis of those who hold that the possessing group in our society will only respond adequately to the needs of others when they have been sufficiently scared. It is becoming more and more clear that the chief argument, in seeking contributions for relief funds, is to be the threat of an uprising—and particularly a communist uprising. Senator Borah's warning to the rich has been printed everywhere throughout the nation. The declaration of Mr. Silas H. Strawn, president of the United States chamber of commerce, that charity gifts are a form of insurance against socialism is to be found in another column of this paper. A good illustration of the way in which this pressure of fear is being applied has been shown by the deep interest of the governor's emergency commission in Illinois in the relief of the unemployed Negroes on Chicago's south side. The plight of this community, in which a total population of about 250,000 contains 40,000 unemployed, is desperate. But it is not a great deal worse now than it was last winter. Yet last winter responsible Negro leaders were convinced that they could not obtain adequate attention for the needs of their people, while this year help for the Negroes is at the forefront of the community's planning. Why? The answer is to be found in the communist riots that accompanied last summer's evictions in the black belt of Chicago, and the communist massmeetings that are being held ceaselessly in one of the south side parks. Christianity holds that problems of social maladjustment are to be solved by appeal to the power of good will, but actual experience tends to prove that most people who call themselves Christians respond much more quickly and generously to a good scare.

A Test Case Concerning the Freedom of the Air

WITHIN the next few weeks the federal radio commission will render final judgment as to whether radio station WEVD is to be excluded from the air. The station has had temporary suspension orders entered against it; it is now announced that the technical advisers of the commission have recommended that its license be not renewed and its share of the air be turned over to station WFOX, a commercial station operated from the Fox theater building in Brooklyn, and carrying certain Fox theater programs to the public. Here is a case which gives a clear-cut test of the intentions of the radio commission so far as the future freedom of the air is concerned. Undoubtedly, station WEVD has been guilty of the technical violations of commission rules with which it has been charged. These have never been very serious, and we are assured that they have been remedied in recent months. It may also be granted that the station has been restricted in its type of program. Here, too, there has been recent and important improvement. But the case against the station, as compiled by the radio commission's examiners, may be granted, and the question of policy involved in putting it off the air still remains. Whatever its past shortcomings, station WEVD is one of the very few stations in all the more than six hundred now operating which is openly dedicated to giving minority views. It was founded as a memorial to Eugene V. Debs, as its call letters signify; the president of the corporation maintaining it is Norman Thomas. It is planned as a non-commercial station, giving major attention to educational, religious, philanthropic and social affairs. It is important not so much because of what it is now as because of what it may become. If it is taken off the air, and its license turned over to a station of the type recommended by the examiner, that can be taken as evidence that the radio commission is against the future development of non-commercial, minority group broadcasting. Watch the decision in the WEVD case and you will learn much about the air's freedom in the United States.

Another Wet Canard Spiked

ON JUNE 10 the Sheboygan, Wisconsin, Press printed an editorial on economic conditions in the Virgin islands which, after quoting President Hoover's reference to "an effective poorhouse," added, "President Hoover might have gone on further and said: 'It was unfortunate that this country enacted prohibition, for it changed the Virgin islands from a prosperous to the poorhouse condition that I have referred to.'" This interpretation of the poverty of the Virgin islands as having been caused by the ruthless destruction of the native source of livelihood under the operations of American prohibition has been broadcast by the press of this country. Now, however, Mr. Harry E. Taylor, commissioner of industry of the islands, comes forward with a public letter to the Wisconsin editor which in 2500 words demolishes the entire argument, and exposes its principal elements as myths. Thus, instead of prohibition having ruined the bay rum industry, as has been charged, Commissioner Taylor shows that, while the total exportation of bay rum in 1911-20 was 321,589 gallons, the exportation during 1921-30, under the "destructive" American regime, was 823,453 gallons! He quotes, moreover, from the report of the Danish parliamentary commission, made in 1916, to show that the Danish West Indies had been on the economic downgrade for a generation, "the chief reasons" being "the low sugar prices . . . and the changed conditions in commerce and navigation brought about by the replacement of sailing ships by modern steam vessels, so that Saint Thomas, for the

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greater part, has lost her importance as a port of call and an emporium." Commissioner Taylor also points out that the boll weevil has wiped out the islands' once flourishing cotton industry. There is no question about the severity of economic conditions in the islands, as Mr. Hoover stated. But Commissioner Taylor's whole document amply sustains his graphic summary: "Prohibition added little more to the economic downfall of the Virgin islands than did the anti-spitting ordinance in New York."

What Is a Dole?

AS ONE necessary act of preparation for the hardest winter in memory it is time that American citizens were taking a long and careful look at this word "dole." The newspapers are full of it. Public speakers ring the changes on it. It appears in the resolutions of one convention after another. It is as certain as the return of breadlines that the coming winter will hear it repeated over and over and over again. Always, the reference will be made in such a way as to warn the country against it. "Beware the dole!" The words may soon assume the proportions of a national slogan. The more reason, therefore, why they should be understood. What is a dole?

If the word is to be anything more than a papier maché dragon or a pumpkin-head to frighten the timid, we ought to find out what it means.

The other night Mr. Silas H. Strawn, of Chicago, attempted to tell the American public about the danger of a dole. Mr. Strawn is one of the nation's most conspicuous men. He has been president of the American Bar association. He is the president of the United States chamber of commerce. He is chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward and Company. He was one of the first men summoned by President Hoover when the formation of the Gifford committee was in the offing. When, therefore, Mr. Strawn desired to address the public on the proper policy to be followed during the coming winter a nationwide radio hook-up was put at his disposal, and almost the entire press of the country printed his words.

The very title of Mr. Strawn's speech, "More Faith and Fewer Nostrums," shows the spirit in which he approached consideration of the present crisis. That is exactly what big business has been calling for since the crash first came, now more than two years ago. Faith that the worst would be over in sixty days; faith that recovery was just around the corner; faith that the amount of unemployment and human suffering was exaggerated—with the result that the country enters on its third winter of misery as much without a sense of direction as when it plunged into the depression. Nostrums? What nostrums, pray, have been employed, except the incessant business adjuration to economic Couéism?

But that, after all, is not the feature of Mr. Strawn's speech with which we are now principally concerned. What interests us is the fact that this representative of the business interests, given this opportunity to speak to the entire nation, and warning his hearers, as he did, that the whole world was looking to them for leadership, spent practically all of his time decrying "the dole." To set up a dole system, either "private or governmental," said Mr. Strawn, "would be a greater calamity than any that has yet befallen this country."

"Beware the dole!" But what, it is fair to ask, does big business favor? Certainly it knows that *something* of an organized character will have to be done. If not a dole, then what? Mr. Strawn put his answer in this fashion: "I am in entire accord with the plan of the President in the selection of a general overseeing committee to encourage local communities to take care of their own unemployed during the coming winter. I regard it as the duty of every employer of labor and of every one else who can by reasonable sacrifice do so to contribute liberally to the unemployed funds now being collected throughout the country. These contributions are not charitable gifts. They are premiums on insurance against socialism and the stability of our government."

"Beware the dole; contribute to the unemployed funds!" In humanity's name, what absurdity is this! Yet this is typical of the nonsense that is being talked by a large part of the nation's leadership. What does it mean? Have our men of power lost their reason? Do words have no meaning for them? Of course not. But the bitter truth is that we are going into this critical winter handicapped, so far as intelligent public action is concerned, by a deliberate attempt to confuse the national mind over this word "dole."

It is time to stop this attempt at confusion before it does untold harm.

The nation needs to face the facts. The facts show that, up to the present, and in the future if the plans of the Gifford committee are adhered to, by far the largest part of the effort to deal with the unemployment crisis has been and will be by resort to a dole. Last winter was a dole winter. This winter is to be a dole winter. And as long as unemployment persists on a vast scale and relief is on a charity basis the winters that stretch ahead will be dole winters.

Stop fooling with words! A breadline is a dole. A soup kitchen is a dole. The sort of charity relief that our cities were forced to resort to last winter is a dole. Even the job that is obviously manufactured, not because it needs to be done but as a sort of ticket for a meal, is a dole. America is on a dole basis at this minute, and it is headed—if big business has its way—deeper and deeper into the dole quicksand.

Of course it will be objected that the leaders who are warning the nation against the peril of a dole are using the word in a specialized sense. Well, what sense? When Mr. Strawn used it, what was he really trying to keep the nation from doing? A study of his speech shows that he was really against two things: compulsory unemployment insurance and a federal program of unemployment relief. That, it is fair to

say, is what is meant in ninety per cent of the cases when the country is warned against the dole. It does not mean, as some will contend, that the dole is *any* relief financed from public funds. The report of the Russell Sage foundation, just published, shows that last winter local public funds provided more than seventy per cent of the unemployment relief. (That, it should be noted, is a much higher percentage of public relief than in England, where the dole is regarded as such an incubus on the taxpayer.) No, the present "American" system has plenty of room in it for the employment of public funds. But the dole begins, according to the thinking of big business, when the funds come from the federal treasury, or when unemployment insurance is forced on the employer by the state.

It is not hard to understand why big business is attempting to establish this definition. If relief is to come from the federal treasury, there is a practical certainty of an increase in income taxes. And the demand will be for placing the burden of this new taxation on the upper brackets, no question about that. Local taxation, however, is seldom on income. Neither is it, in most cases, on plant investment. It is on the small home owner and, indirectly but none the less actually, on the rent payer. Hence, a system which requires seventy per cent of its funds from local taxation is "American," while a system that requires federal taxation of those best able to stand it is a "dole."

In the same way, compulsory unemployment insurance is to be tagged with a misleading label. Mr. Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric company, has shown that it is perfectly possible so to organize an industry as to provide stable employment or, in case of major industrial dislocation, adequate unemployment insurance. To accomplish this, however, in the present condition of American industry, based on its heritage of "rugged individualism," would require a revolution. Less than three per cent of the big business corporations have shown any readiness to attempt it voluntarily. Hence, any move that state or federal government might make to compel industry to assume the burden of its own human wreckage is to be resisted as a "dole."

A major social struggle lies ahead of the nation. With the suspicion growing on the one hand that unemployment on a vast scale is to be a chronic condition—even Mr. Strawn looks forward to nothing better than a continuation of the seven depression cycles in a century, which he enumerated—and with the evidence growing on the other that there are vast hordes of hidden wealth which the government can borrow at unprecedently low rates or can tax without imposing hardships, an upheaval is inevitable. Whatever may be the outcome, it is sound patriotism to try, from the beginning, to make the issues clear. If interested parties want to argue that private or local or state doles are all right and only federal doles are dangerous, let them tell why. If the public is to be told that the struggle is over a "dole," then let the public understand that a dole is precisely what we have now got.

Re-open the Macintosh Case!

A NEWS NOTE five lines long, tucked in an obscure corner of the morning paper, says that Chief Justice Hughes has returned to his office in Washington and is preparing for the reconvening of the Supreme Court of the United States on October 5, following the summer recess. To the casual reader this is but a bit of routine information. To the religious people of the nation, Christians and those of all other faiths, this bit of information has special significance. It is probable that at this session of the court a decision will be made of greater consequence to the spiritual and moral freedom of American citizens than the supreme court has ever made in its entire history. The case of Professor Macintosh, professor of Christian theology in Yale university, a Canadian subject whose application for citizenship in the United States was refused by a five to four decision of the court last spring, will come before the court at this session in the form of a petition for a rehearing. In this case is involved not alone the fate of Professor Macintosh, but the liberty of conscience of every American citizen, native-born as well as naturalized.

The principle at issue, in a word, is this: Does citizenship under the constitution exact advance consent from the native-born citizen that in the event of a conflict between his bona fide conscientious conviction and an act of congress he will accept the enactment of congress as the will of God?

We have stated the issue in terms of the native-born citizen, because that is where the supreme court placed it. The question as to whether Professor Macintosh was eligible for citizenship was argued by the court on the ground that he should not be given a privileged status as compared to the status of native-born citizens. This principle is not in dispute, either inside the court or in these pages. Certainly Professor Macintosh does not dispute it. He asks for no privileged position as a citizen. He would refuse it if it were offered him. In filing his application, he assumed that his statement of the right to exercise his conscience in withholding support from a hypothetical war which he believed unjust and contrary to the will of God was the assertion of a right now held by every native-born citizen.

The case of Professor Macintosh thus becomes the case of every American citizen. It is in no mood of sympathy for Professor Macintosh, but of moral self-interest that opposition to the court's decision has been aroused. It is not because Professor Macintosh has been affronted, but because our own citizenship has been outraged by the supreme court. Our constitution has been given a meaning it does not have, a meaning which has never before been imputed to it, a meaning which the fathers would have repudiated had it been suggested to them. It is a meaning which debases citizenship, poisons patriotism at the root, shifts our democracy to a basis of tyranny, erects the state

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into a kind of pagan deity whose will is superior to the law of God, and casts such a blight upon spiritual religion that it can exist only in potential defiance of the law of the land.

Let us state the question at issue in the form of a syllogism, so that any school boy will grasp it.

Major premise: An alien applying for citizenship must not be given a privileged status as compared with native-born citizens.

Minor premise: In refusing to consent in advance that he will subordinate his conscience to the will of congress in the event of a war which he holds to be unjust and contrary to the will of God, Professor Macintosh is asking for such a privileged status, as the constitution requires this consent from every native-born citizen, and every native-born citizen impliedly gives it.

Conclusion: Therefore, the application of Professor Macintosh for citizenship is denied.

The argument, obviously, turns on the minor premise. If that premise is true, the conclusion is sound. If it is not true, the conclusion is not warranted. But native-born citizens are concerned, not with the conclusion, but with the minor premise. If that premise is true, they are vitally involved. They have already, by all the implications of their actual citizenship, given in advance their consent to support a future war which in good conscience they hold to be unjust and contrary to the will of God.

How does Chief Justice Hughes, supported by his minority colleagues, deal with this issue? He argues that no such obligation is imposed upon native-born citizens *as a condition of citizenship*. The constitution imposes no such obligation; the oath imposes no such obligation; congress has imposed no such obligation in the naturalization statute, where its omission, in the light of other express requirements touching an applicant's belief, is "highly significant." As a matter of fact, the chief justice continues, it is not true that such an obligation is involved in citizenship, because we have now, and always have had, many citizens, of whom Quakers are an illustration, who explicitly repudiate any such obligation, and a great multitude of citizens, not pacifists, who if they were asked "whether they would obey a law believed in conflict with religious duty," would answer as Professor Macintosh answers. Therefore Justice Hughes is unwilling to impose upon Professor Macintosh special requirements which are not imposed upon native-born citizens.

Continuing Mr. Hughes' argument in our own paraphrase, he asks, Is there, then, no obligation of citizens in the event of war? And he answers, Yes; but it is an obligation imposed upon *those who are already citizens*, not an obligation imposed as a condition of their being citizens or of their becoming citizens. This obligation is not inherent in the constitution, but arises only when an actual war arises. It is not constitutional, but *ad hoc*. The obligation to bear arms is *created by congress* when congress, in the exercise of its power, sees fit to impose it. But the power of congress to impose it exists only when war is an actuality. It therefore cannot be regarded as a condition of citizenship. It is not a *continuing* obligation but an *occasional* obligation.

This is the essence of Justice Hughes' argument. That the distinction which he makes between an obligation as a *condition* of citizenship and what we have called an *ad hoc* obligation is sound, will be evident if we keep in mind the fact that an act of congress conscripting citizens for war is essentially an act of martial law. As the court's majority opinion points out, when war arises all civil rights—freedom of the press, speech, conscience, assemblage, etc.—are or may be superseded by the requirements of war. But this observation is fatal to the majority opinion. For the abrogation of these civil rights in war-time is an act of martial law. The court majority, therefore, in asserting that American citizenship is conditioned by unqualified consent to bear arms, asserts, in effect, that the basis of American citizenship is not civil law but martial law! What, patriotic reader, do you suppose the makers of the constitution would have said to such an interpretation of their handiwork?

Returning to the minority argument of Chief Justice Hughes, he contends that it has always been the practice of congress, whenever it laid this military obligation upon citizens, to treat the conscientious objector under a special ruling. Native-born and naturalized conscientious objectors alike have trusted congress to relieve them of that part of the obligation which was peculiarly repugnant to their religious convictions. The chief justice would have Professor Macintosh granted citizenship on this same basis, allowing him to entrust his fate to the continuance by congress of its traditional procedure. The majority denied him this fundamental right—the right of trusting congress to do justly by him. Instead, it would compel him *to pledge in advance* that he would not exercise this right which every native-born citizen may exercise—the right to trust congress to exempt him on grounds of conscience from the obligation to render combatant service.

A practice corroborative of Justice Hughes' conception of citizenship exists in our traditional treatment of those conscientious objectors who not only refuse to do combatant service but refuse to accept conscription at all. We put them in prison for the term of the war. *But we do not take their citizenship from them.* They are held guilty of a crime, but not of treason. They violated a law which was in operation while the war was on. When the war ended, the law was repealed and these prisoners were returned to their homes with their citizenship unimpaired. Such men even become candidates for the Presidency of the United States!

Two observations should be made before we close. One is that the foregoing treatment ignores the existence of the new law which the Kellogg pact brought into existence. This new law, which makes war illegal, greatly simplifies the case for a conscientious objector to war. But Professor Macintosh did not take

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his stand on this new law, and his attorneys have not utilized it in their argument. We do not advise them now to do so. Our reason is that Professor Macintosh's position falls below the level of the Kellogg pact. He is not against war as such. He allows for the possibility of a just war, as distinguished from an unjust war. The Kellogg pact has legally abolished this distinction, and written into international law a condemnation and renunciation of war as such, and an agreement never to resort to it for the settlement of any dispute or conflict whatever. It is not war that is the essential issue in the Macintosh case, but the right of conscience. And we hold with his attorneys and Chief Justice Hughes that the constitution and the law which we received from the fathers are sufficient to justify his position.

The second observation is that no doubt should exist as to the propriety of letting the supreme court know that its decision is an outrage upon our citizenship. Some timid souls shrink at doing this. But the Macintosh case is not yet legally closed. The petition for a rehearing is an integral part of the legal process, and until it is refused, the pressure of intelligent public opinion should be brought to bear upon the court through public address, letters, articles, resolutions and in any other way that the court may be advised of the monumental error which it will commit if it insists upon writing martial law into the civil constitution of the United States.

Is It Sport?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I notice by the rotogravure pages of my newspaper that the city of Los Angeles has completed a large stadium in which the Olympic games of 1932 are to be held. The games, I take it, will be advertised to the ends of the earth as an agency for the promotion of international good will. That is the prophecy with which each of these quadrennial events is greeted. But unless my memory serves me false, actual experience has, in almost every case, been quite to the contrary. The games, instead of promoting international good will, have practically never failed to stir up international discord. Their principal result, if the columns of the press bear true witness, has been to furnish occasion for endless international backbiting.

Few indeed are the instances in which international sport in any form makes that contribution to international friendliness that its promoters promise. Consider, for instance, the squabbles that have accompanied competition for the "America" cup. And is it not true that, altogether aside from the disputes over particular races, the British public in general has gained the opinion that American sportsmanship insists on imposing conditions for that regatta which make a British victory practically impossible? If, sir, that is the effect of such a sport as yachting, what must be the contribution to international misunderstanding of, shall we say, prize fighting? I venture the opinion that the reports in the Latin American press of the manner of Mr. Jack Dempsey's victory over Mr. Luis Firpo did as much to create ill will toward the "colossus of the north" as the marine expeditions sent to Nicaragua.

Perhaps you have noticed the reports of the recent motorboat races on the Detroit river. If so, you will know that the impression has been spread abroad that the American contestant, finding his boat outclassed by that of the British entrant, resorted to sharp practice to bring about the disqualification of his opponent. Even the American press, in so far as it has mentioned the matter at all, has almost unanimously condemned the action of the American. All sorts of explanations and extenuations have been offered in his behalf, but without affecting in the slightest the impression firmly fixed in the minds of the motorboating enthusiasts of the rest of the world that the United States is bound to win by hook or crook, and cares little whether it is hook or crook.

I have no doubt but that most of the bickerings which come out of international sporting events are very silly. And I am ready to agree that to make single incidents a basis of judgment of national character is even sillier. But that does not change the actualities. Considering the enormous costs of most of these contests, and the unfortunate results that come from them, might it not be one valuable contribution to that process of international pacification which you desire if, for say a decade, we might have a moratorium on these events that are dedicated to fun but breed fury?

Yours for peace, even on the playing fields,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Evidence

NEVER a soul to earth is born
But it greets life with a cry:
And always men tell of the strange white peace
On the faces of those who die.

CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ.

Prayer

THOU who didst multiply, by Galilee,
Scant loaves and fishes for humanity,
Teach us to multiply our love and care,
Till no least life goes hungering anywhere.

FRANCES CROSBY HAMLET.

Love's Miracle

I DO not wonder that He raised the dead
And trod so surely the impatient sea.
I wonder only that He bowed His head
And bore His cross to save a thing like me.

ALEXANDER HARVEY.

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The Crisis in British Socialism

By Reinhold Niebuhr

London, September 12.

THE crisis which brought into life the new "national" government which for the moment rules Great Britain, and the methods used to meet that crisis, bid fair to become epochal in British history. In brief words they spell the end of an era in the development of British parliamentary socialism. British socialism has been, for some years, the hope of all those in every nation who sought for methods to reorganize modern society without resort to violence and who believed that constitutional methods would prove adequate for even so stupendous a task. What has happened in Britain may not prove these hopes to be vain, but it has certainly proved that they have been held too complacently.

The facts, superficially considered, do not warrant such a tragic interpretation. All we see on the surface is that a growing deficit in the budget and in the national trade balance threatened a "flight from the pound," i.e., the gold basis of British currency, and that the labor cabinet found itself unable to agree upon the strategy necessary to avoid disaster. Whereupon a coalition cabinet was formed to propose a taxation and economy program for purposes of balancing the budget. The particular rock upon which the labor cabinet suffered shipwreck was the proposal to cut unemployment benefits by ten per cent. The basic "dole" for unemployed workers in Britain is $4.25 per week with $2.25 extra for married men and 50 cents extra for dependent children. The fact that a ten per cent cut in such benefits could cause a parliamentary crisis in Britain while America will worry through another winter of unemployment without any recognition by the federal government of the nation's responsibility for the misery of the unemployed marks the difference in social conscience between the two nations.

Abuses of the Dole

There have undoubtedly been abuses of the dole in Britain; but social facts are never justly judged from a partial perspective. The degree of severity with which one judges the vices of the idle poor and the idle rich depends upon previous political convictions. The majority of the labor cabinet decided that proposed economies should not include a diminution of the living standards of the poorest. MacDonald and Snowden adhered to the principle of "equality of sacrifice," a rather meaningless phrase in a society in which inequality is a basic characteristic. In the light of the economy budget which has been adopted the phrase really means that the poorest lose ten per cent of their income, salaries which come out of the budget are cut roughly 15 per cent, while taxation on unearned income is increased by 2.5 per cent, from 22.5 per cent to 25 per cent.

The mutual recriminations which have attended the crisis are instructive. Labor charges that the ten per cent cut in the dole was ordered by the bankers, including French and American bankers, who were expected to advance a loan to save the British sterling. The conservatives insist that the labor cabinet was intimidated by the trade unions. Each side expresses abhorrence of the interference in parliamentary business by extra-parliamentary influence. The facts seem to justify the charges of both sides, but the facts are merely a revelation of the character of modern society. Essential power in modern society is economic; and constitutional authority is more frequently the expression of, rather than the check upon, this power. The real struggle is between forces symbolized by bankers and trade unions. To be outraged by this fact is either to display ignorance or to feign ignorance for the sake of political effect. The possibility that American bankers may have brought pressure to bear against the dole for the sake of postponing its adoption here by discrediting it in Britain is an interesting and not improbable surmise.

The March Toward Social Justice

The problem which really confronted Britain in her emergency was whether the march toward social and economic justice could continue in a time of crisis, or whether the peril to the whole community was sufficient warrant to sacrifice the needs of the least powerful to the claims of the most powerful. It is significant that the labor party as a whole stood firm in avowing the former position while the two most eminent leaders of the party, MacDonald and Snowden, associated themselves with those who insisted on the latter course. MacDonald's explanation of his course is not without logical force. When a patient is in imminent danger of his life, he asserted, we offer whatever restoratives are available without too much concern for the ultimate regimen which will restore complete health. No other restorative than the one used was available; for labor, as a minority government, did not have sufficient force to dictate another course. Even if it had had complete parliamentary power it is questionable whether it could have carried through a more rigorous course so long as banking and credit are not under a more complete state control and subsist as independent sources of authority. The question which the British crisis raises, in other words, is whether constitutional socialism can continue its march toward the goal of economic justice and equality chiefly by the method of taxing the rich to feed the poor. The past decades of British history prove that it is possible to go a considerable distance upon that road and to achieve essential gains in social justice. The past weeks of British history prove that there are definite limits to such methods.

The most obvious limitation is that so long as pri-

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vate capitalism lasts as the basic organization of economic society there are limits to the social burdens which may be placed upon it by taxation. The limits are given partly by the temper of the privileged community which consents to a diminution of its privileges only up to a certain point; partly they are given by the actual economic situation. A privately organized industry may actually break down under a too heavy taxation load, while a socialized industry could easily bear the same social burdens. Taxation is, in other words, no adequate method for achieving the final end of the socialization of industry. It was natural that men like MacDonald and Snowden, not only because of their natural conservatism, but also because of their positions of high responsibility in the immediate business of the state, should have been prompted by their fear of immediate disaster which threatened the economic life of Britain; and it is equally natural that more rigorous socialists should have had their eye on the more ultimate goal.

Heroes and Villains

The fact that MacDonald, who was an outcast during the war, has become the hero of middle class Britain, while Arthur Henderson, who led the labor party into the war and whose distinguished services as foreign minister have earned the praise of the entire nation, is suddenly cast for the role of villain in the plot by the entire non-labor press, is an interesting revelation of the passion and prejudice of politics. If economic interest, and the prejudices which attend it, can make and unmake heroes and villains as quickly as that, in a nation justly noted for the urbanity with which it conducts its political struggles, one wonders what can be expected of other nations who try to preserve political sanity in a day of social reconstruction.

The fact is that the recent crisis has sharpened the class struggle in Britain tremendously. The social conflict has had a better chance of proceeding without violence in that nation than in any other. In Germany the possibility of avoiding violence is practically gone. In America it is too early to say what will happen; for as a nation we are only beginning to awaken to the seriousness of the social struggle which all industrial nations must face. In Britain alone the forces of reason and conscience seemed strong enough to mitigate the severities of the class struggle so that society could readjust its life to the necessities of an industrial civilization without undergoing periodic convulsions. British labor was less class-conscious, and the more privileged British community was more inclined to yield to pressure and to consent to the gradual approximation of social justice in an industrial society than any other similar group.

But the recent crisis has made labor more cynical and less confident of the adequacy of constitutional methods than ever before in its history. Its cynicism is clearly derived from the revelation of the power of the class interest of the privileged classes and the certainty with which that interest colors and determines political judgment and policy. It is one of the ironies of history that privileged groups should be honestly affronted by the class-consciousness of laboring groups, which they regard as a peril to the state, while they do not realize how much their identification of their own interests with the welfare of the state is the very root of the proletarian mood.

Social Imagination

It requires a rather higher degree of social imagination than seems available in even the most enlightened state for a privileged man who has his income tax increased by five per cent in order that the needs of the poor may be met, not to feel aggrieved by the claims of society upon him and not to resist them with all the political weapons he possesses. In the limited imagination of most men privileges, no matter how fortuitously bestowed, are immediately transmuted into rights which must be defended at all costs. Naturally the classes who are bereft of such privileges, and who can hardly be expected to accept the fiction that privilege is the inevitable reward of virtue, will increase their revolutionary temper in proportion to the stubbornness of the privileged groups. This is what is happening in Britain.

This does not mean that the English are fated to march in the direction of revolution. The saving graces of English political life are not completely dissipated. It is still true that there are large circles in which a high degree of social intelligence and of religious imagination enables men to see the needs of other groups than their own and to qualify political prejudice by community consciousness. Only it has become a more open question whether such forces are sufficiently powerful and have sufficient promise of increasing strength to avert ultimate political catastrophe.

In some respects the rigorous Snowden budget, which the nation has accepted with stolid fortitude, is not the immediate restorative which a patient expects when he swallows a bitter pill. British currency was endangered not chiefly because the budget was not balanced, but because the trade balance was becoming more and more consistently adverse so that even invisible exports (profits from foreign investments) did not make up the deficit. A budget deficit alone can not destroy confidence in the monetary system, or the American dollar would be in worse peril than the British pound, for our budget deficit is a billion dollars and the British deficit is only one-third that amount.

Britain's Dwindling Foreign Trade

The worst peril which Britain faces is its dwindling foreign trade and the constant drain upon its gold reserves caused by this fact and by the effects of reparations and war debts. The centralization of two-thirds of the world's gold supply in the hands of America and France, the two nations which profit from reparation payments, has virtually placed England under the heel of France. Its original sentimen-

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tal subservience to French policy, for which the tories and more particularly Austen Chamberlain, are responsible, has become an involuntary servitude. French bankers hold the whip hand in both the economic and political life of Europe. What they do with their power may be seen very clearly in their recent successful prohibition of the Austro-German custom union. The British will try to extricate themselves from their situation by tariffs and possibly by the prohibition of luxury imports. Tariffs are a virtual certainty in the immediate future of Britain. The labor party will join the tories in voting tariffs and even such liberals as Sir John Simon will desert the ship of free trade.

They may offer the nation immediate relief, but its ultimate salvation depends upon a rehabilitation of industrial efficiency so that they will be more capable of meeting American and German competition, and upon a new deal in reparations and war debts. Both the English and the German domestic crisis must finally wait for solution upon new international arrangements. Dean Donham has pointed out that under the present arrangement America has it in her power to destroy the economic life of both Germany and England. It is easy to see that there would be no final advantage in such a course for us. We might reap an immediate economic advantage and France an immediate political one from a perpetuation of the present policy. But the whole structure of western civilization is ultimately imperiled by it. Germany is in the more immediate peril, but Britain is in danger almost as great. Whichever way we turn, and the problem of whatever nation we consider, we must finally discover the international character of the problem. We live in an interdependent world and every domestic problem, including our own, becomes an international one. In view of that fact one can have an optimistic view of the future only if one estimates the international intelligence of contemporary man more highly than the facts seem to warrant. There is a slight warrant for such optimism, for one never knows how much the pressure of need may create or develop hitherto unsuspected resources of reason and imagination.

In China's Flood

By James V. Latimer

TONIGHT at dinner I was asked, "Well, how do you feel today?" I'll tell you how I feel. I am a Navy Y. M. C. A. secretary in Hankow, one of the three splendid cities that form the Wuhan center. These are Hankow and Hanyang on the west bank of the Yangtze, and Wunchang, across the river. I had heard of the capers of the Yangtze river and sincerely hoped I might be here some summer when she went on a rampage. I shall never again wish to see a flood, much less experience one. During the last three years I have experienced the coldest winter recorded in Hankow and also the hottest summer. I have gone through a few local uprisings and changes of governments. I have been through bandit territory in an effort to help in the rescue of men who had then been held for seven months by a roving band of communists. I had cholera once, and that was enough, and amoebic dysentery a few times. I have also lived here without my wife and with her. She left for New York city on the 17th of June and I was sorry to see her go, and I expected to join her in October. I am now glad she is not here. I may be wished onto Hankow for an indefinite period of time, because I do want to see our streets again and walk on land once more before leaving for the states.

Burials Where There Is No Land

Yet today I seem to be sure of but one thing, and that is, if any one of our good citizens should decide to pass on and enter upon that great adventure called death, all we could do for him would be to dress him in his best white suit, tie a bag of river mud to his feet and ease him overboard a mile or two out in the river. Did you ever see a burial where there is no land and no coffin? I have. When the Chinese give up the struggle these days they just float around for a few days, then are caught by some current that carries them out into the main stream.

Under usual conditions August brings us a rise of from forty to forty-five feet in the water of the Yangtze here, measured from a fixed low water average known as zero. I have seen the 90 foot high water mark in Chungking and the water mark in the gorges, which was near to the 200 foot mark. Such records are possible when the melting snows of Tibet add their abundance to our rainfall. It does not rain much here, yet I have seen twenty-one inches fall in seven days. That is a good high average. The high water marks of the upper river are due to the narrow banks and the rock barriers which hold the waters in check. A rise of ten feet at Ichang does not worry us because we know that will mean only a foot or so here.

The river here is about a mile wide between the cities of Hankow and Wuchang. It runs almost due north. A few miles below the city it turns to the east, and continues on its way to Shanghai, six hundred miles away, then on out to paint the sea yellow half-way to Japan. From the northwest comes the Han river, which fastened its name to the two Han cities here; Hankow ("The mouth of the Han") and Hanyang. Wuchang is on the east side of the big

river. These three cities form the Wuhan municipality, which is the most important shipping center in China. Wood oil for America and Europe passes through here at the rate of a thousand tons per week, under usual conditions, while four million goatskins from Szechuen are transhipped here for American ports and leather manufactories. We ship tea into Siberia and Russia, sausage casings to all parts of the world, pig bristles for American tooth brushes, frozen and powdered eggs to all countries, etc., etc. Yes, this is an important center. The bund is five miles long and has pontoons and wharfs for nearly every line of steamers in the world. Without transhipment, cargo can be sent from Hankow to Hamburg, to New York, and to various other important shipping centers of the world.

Hankow's Concessions

Lying next to the Han river is the Chinese city, with its splendid and newly built bunding. To the north lies the former British concession, yielded in 1927 under the terms of the Chen-O'Malley agreement, upon demand of the communists here. Then follow in order the former Russian concession, the French concession, the ex-German concession and the Japanese concession. If you ask me why these two concessions are permitted to remain concessions, I shall have to suggest that you ask someone who knows, for I do not. Beyond the Japanese concession there is more Chinese city, and the great oil installations of the Asiatic Petroleum company, the Standard Oil company of New York and the Texas company. Behind all these to the west, and on a much lower level, is some more Chinese city, the Race club, and a residential section for foreigners, known as the Jardine estate.

This portion was bought up some years ago by one of the great shipping firms here, filled in and developed. Many of my friends have lived there and the residences are the best in the city, with ample grounds well laid out. A month ago the Cosmopolitan club held its meeting out in the park there, known as a "Garden." It was a wonderful place. That section of the city is at a 31 foot level. So when I tell you that we have 53 ft. 8 in. of water here you will know that they have about 22 feet in their residences in the estate. You will also know about how I feel when I think of those splendid homes where my friends have been gracious and hospitable and where we have dined, danced and played bridge.

Heavy Going on the Race Tracks

In this same district which was protected by a fifty-six foot dyke on the west and the railway grade on the east just back of the city, built to take a fifty-four foot head of water—in this district are the race clubs. One was the Chinese race club for Chinese, one the International race club for all peoples, and one the Hankow race club and recreation grounds built up and maintained for foreigners. The Chinese were not permitted excepting on race days. Our Mongolian ponies can't run much and we know it, but they are among the best in China. At "our" race club we have a layout that causes Americans to open their eyes in wonder, and even New Yorkers admit that it is unique. Several hundred acres of land are surrounded by a concrete wall. There is but one entrance and exit. We have a club house, a card room, a pari-mutuel room, a bar, a swimming pool which is covered over in the autumn and forms the Bull Pen which is used for afternoon teas, concerts, parties, dances and such balls as St. George's (British), St. Andrew's (Scotch), St. David's (Welsh), and "St." George Washington's (American).

To the left of the club lies the race track. Inside of this are a nine hole golf course and ample ground for pony polo, hockey, football, and so on. In front lies a splendid garden and the children's playground. To the right and back of the building we find lawn bowls, tennis courts, the cricket field, baseball diamond, and an eighteen hole golf course. We also have stables for the ponies, whether racers or otherwise, and quarters for the jockeys and mafoos. These faithful servants and their families took to the grandstand when the water rose, and are there yet, a few hundred of them. The ponies were shipped out to Shanghai on short notice and consigned to the race club there, without the knowledge or consent of the parties concerned.

The last time I saw the race club there were seven inches of muddy water over the main floor. I am sure the dancing floor was altogether too slippery and that the bar was the "wettest" in the world. But the water was just getting a good start then. We now seem to be fairly stationary at the 53 ft. 8 in. level. By studying the water charts covering many years we are persuaded that our city streets will not be free of water until sometime in October and that the Jardine estate will not show land much before December. Then do you ask me how I feel?

A Joke That Palled

During the early stages of the high water here we all took it as a joke and had a lot of fun. When it got into a friend's kitchen or godown we jollied him and he laughed with us. When boats first began to appear in the streets instead of motor cars and rickshas, some friends hired one at night, put in a victrola and went serenading. Really our high water was a big joke. The river here, a mile wide, used to afford a pleasant ferry ride on a hot evening when one needed a change and Wuchang friends on the other side always kept open house. But now the mail pilots tell us that when flying at an altitude of five thousand feet they cannot see land on either side. Some think the river here is a hundred miles wide now, or wider.

For a long time the railway embankment offered a footing for tens of thousands of refugees, but that is now covered. I do not know what has become of the people, but I can guess. It was funny at first to see people wading the main streets, but it was not amusing to me yesterday when I saw a father in the streets

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in front of us with his naked six year old son on his shoulders, and his wife and younger daughter following as best they could in water up to their shoulders. They were headed for the river two blocks away and were going into deeper water all the while. I was utterly helpless. They carried no baggage or parcel, either of food or of clothing.

It was funny at first to see a man towing a plank on which were six spring chickens. These were possibly all he had saved from his wrecked home and he was doing his best to save a few to give him a new start when and if the waters receded. But it is not amusing to see thousands every day milling around in the water, with a garment or two balanced on their heads—just milling around trying to find some better place, and failing at every turn. Then they meet thousands of others on the same street milling around, but going in the opposite direction.

It was exceedingly funny to see Professor Stenn Bugge just after he had gone over backwards in a ricksha and came up sputtering and waded out. He had been riding up on top with his feet on the seat, and he overbalanced the fellow between the handle bars. But it was not so funny to look out over the dirt and filth of the water and to realize that you had to go in also, and that your own visit would be for hours at a time. We joked the fellow a lot whose car was on a low bit of land and who was trying to jack it up so as to save the engine and wiring. But it was not so funny to watch the water creep up onto your own car, just a little each day, and finally submerge it while you waded around utterly helpless. Then, too, I have looked in on the show rooms of the Gale company and of Arnholds' and Gillespie's and others and have seen splendid Packards, Buicks, Dodges, Fords, and all the others just rusting away in the Yangtze water and with no help possible for months to come.

When the "Y" Went Wet

My own experience here is not far from the average. We have a beautiful new building two blocks from the river and in the heart of the business district of Hankow. When the water began to creep up on us we dammed off the front gates and put coolies at work with pails dipping water. In that way we kept our walks dry and people could step over the dams from their cars or rickshas and come in to enjoy the soda fountain and other services offered. Later on we built the dams higher and installed pumps, and dammed off the doors to the barber shop, to the billiard room, auxiliary kitchen, etc. The next step was to put on a night force of pumpers and continue our twenty-four hour effort to keep above the water.

Every day we expected a drop in the water level, but it did not come. We built the dams higher, then higher. The elevated walk to the gates was often found floating in the morning, and no one could get out or in until we had rebuilt it higher. The discharge from the septic tanks, sewers, and from the open closets backed up in the streets and into our compound. Nothing was carried out to sea, because the water was coming in all the time. We learned how the ex-German concession and the Japanese concession had kept the water out of their territory by the building of dams of sand bags and of clay, and we were critical of our city managers for not taking foresight. Then the water invaded those city sections also, not breaking through or over the dams, but from underneath the streets, and the water spouted up like water from broken mains which had been laid too near the surface.

The newspapers ceased publication because of the press rooms being flooded, the telephones worked only sometimes, the ice plants were forced to close down, the shops closed their doors and moved upstairs, if they had one, the electric lights went off in nine-tenths of these cities, food stuffs became scarce and almost impossible to obtain—but we fought on.

One morning I found three inches of water over our ground floor, and the next morning it stood at eighteen inches. It is now about four feet deep. We realized that we were licked. We began to salvage in eighteen inches of water, and continued until yesterday when we worked in forty-eight. It was not pleasant to go down into the water and its filth, alive with vermin and snakes, but I have already had nine hours of it. After coming out, only a strong lysol bath makes one feel presentable and outwardly sterilized. Yet I could not ask my staff, whether steward or coolies, to do that which I myself was unwilling to do. They have stood by me faithfully and have given me the finest cooperation. They followed me into the water and filth with a smile, and I heard not a single word of complaint. We have now salvaged all we can, and await the final results as the water continues to creep up at the rate of an inch per day. It will get us eventually, but not today. Two public utilities still remain for us in this section of the city. These are lights and water. But we have been warned to expect the lights to go at any time. We fought the good fight and were licked. Yet we refuse to retreat.

Worst Still to Come

The bishop of Hankow asked me two days ago what good suggestions I have toward the solution of our tremendous problems. I have no suggestions and no plans. It is estimated that we have three million people destitute. The worst has not yet been reached. Look where you will and you cannot see a spear of grass, a field for planting, an animal of any description, or any promise of continuation of life after the water goes down in December. My only suggestion is that the people be shipped out to where there is dry land and something to eat. That would be considered an unsocial act, I suppose, but there is no profit in holding them here. I have not set foot on dry land in more than three weeks and shall probably not do so for a long time to come. The river recedes about an inch per day after the fall begins. You can then figure for yourself how long it will take to

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clear the back city of its twenty-two feet of water.

And a friend asked me how I feel! I have seen the greatest flood in the written history of China, and do not feel elated. I am losing feeling of all kind. I am crushed. One does not see people smile these days, nor does he hear a laugh. All carry a worried look. We are inoculating against cholera, typhoid, typhus, and the like, but there is no vaccine against the after effects of such an experience. We are told that war is hell. But in war you can put up a devil of a fight. Then war has one heavenly virtue. When you stop fighting the enemy usually stops also and takes pity on the vanquished. Not so with a flood. It just keeps on and on and on.

How do I feel? Just a bit worse than any of you who have read this article through.

A Dry Democrat Looks Forward

By Wayne C. Williams

THE NEXT democratic nominee for the presidency resides in the city of New York. He is about five feet seven inches tall; has blue eyes and a conspicuous nose, is fair haired slightly tinged with gray, and wears a brown derby on certain conspicuous occasions. He is fifty-seven years old. Lest these descriptive items may not furnish a clue to this "mysterious stranger," we hasten to say that his name is Alfred Emanuel Smith.

This unqualified prophecy must, after all, be somewhat spoiled by two qualifications; the first being that in 1932 Smith shall be alive and capable of taking the nomination, and the second that he does not purposely remove himself from the race. Barring these two conditions (and they by no means destroy the force of our prophecy) Smith intends to nominate Smith.

A fundamental mistake is being made by the opponents of the last democratic nominee. This mistake lies in underestimating the ambition, the persistence and the cleverness of Al Smith. Why should Smith listen to the pleas of anti-Smith democrats (even among the wets) and wait until 1936 or 1940? He will be past sixty, four years hence and out of the running. If he had begun as Bryan did at the age of thirty-six, he might well wait. But Bryan did not wait, and his brilliant career abundantly proves that one defeat does not disqualify a man for running again for the highest office in the land. Clay ran three times and it is no more unnatural for Smith to seek to run again than it was for Clay or Bryan.

An interesting parallel: Bryan made his first race for the presidency in 1896 and a few months after his first defeat wrote and published "The First Battle." Smith lost in 1928 and soon thereafter published a story of his life which he called "Up to Now." Does an ambitious leader commit political suicide and inscribe on his political tombstone "Up to Now"?

Smith and Raskob are in absolute control of the democratic party. In over thirty states they hold the organization in the hollow of the hand and can handpick delegates to the next nominating convention as deftly as a Tammany boss picks delegates at a caucus. Unquestionably they will control a majority and, while it takes two-thirds to nominate, it takes only a majority to write their platform. Will Smith write a dry platform or one silent on the liquor question, with millions of thirsty followers howling at his heels and his one pet issue about to be sidetracked? He will write a wet platform and then dare Roosevelt to run on it.

But the picture is not complete for we have much more indubitable evidence that Smith has planned to run again ever since the night of his defeat, and this comes from the carefully laid plan to take revenge on those daring, courageous southern dry democrats who dared to bolt him in 1928! With a deliberation and a foresight that cannot be gainsaid or misunderstood, Smith set out to drive from public life every democrat who placed his convictions above his personal ambitions. Indeed the punishment of these brave men was the first step in the Smith plan to run again and the marvel to northern dry democrats is that so many southern dry democrats lent themselves to the plan. With punishment written in large letters on the careers of these men who dared to bolt him, Smith now expects to hold the solid, dry democratic south in line for 1932 and along with them to gain back at least two border states. Then it remains for him to secure the heavy industrial cities so largely populated by an alien immigrant vote, and Smith is the idol and darling of this group as no other man in our time has ever been.

Roosevelt

The plan is all laid; every step has been taken with deliberate foresight and the democratic party is about to wake up again on a dull and sleepy summer morning and find Al Smith firmly seated in the saddle, with booze on the party banners and "The Sidewalks of New York" ringing in its ears.

But where does this leave Governor Roosevelt? His friends are declaring that personal and political gratitude argue trumpet-tongued for the support of Roosevelt by Smith. The Smith followers and the dry democrats could agree that Roosevelt is physically unable to lead the ticket next year, but even this consideration is a minor one with dry democrats who of course admire the spirit of a man who is fighting his way back to health from the withering effects of a blighting disease.

Dry democrats are interested chiefly in the convic-

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tions and policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt on prohibition, and here we find complete disappointment. There is not one item in the Roosevelt program, personal attitude or record as governor from which any dry democrat can take either comfort or hope. The record is not one whit better than the Smith record, and in some things less appealing, for Roosevelt once saw the light and stood with the drys, and deserted them for his personal ambition, while Smith has at least been consistent in his position. The plain truth is that Roosevelt's views on prohibition preclude any consistent dry democrat from favoring him for the presidency. He has declared for the repeal of the 18th amendment and is hiding behind the transparent plea of the booze crowd for "states' rights." In New York his executive record on prohibition is a nullity, and has been as complete a nullification of the constitution of the United States (on that amendment) as Smith's record ever was.

What comfort or hope can a dry democrat find in placing in the white house a man openly committed to the repeal of the 18th amendment, the nullifying of every effort for the past seventy-five years to dedicate America to the principle of prohibition? Is the great cause to be bartered away for mere party success, or in order that one man's ambition to sit in the seats of the mighty shall be gratified at the sacrifice of a nation's moral position?

Overlooking the Votes

To state this issue is to answer it. No matter how anxious democrats may be to win a national election, the dry democrats who do the voting in the border states and in the north have committed themselves too far, are too deeply dedicated to the cause of prohibition to yield now and surrender their dearest principles to the wets.

Here is where both the Smith and Roosevelt voters are constantly missing it, and where they have failed to discern the underlying currents of American life. They have overlooked the votes of those who are not ambitious for passing fame, for place or power. They have neglected the power of Christian womanhood in America. Led by women like Mrs. Jesse W. Nicholson or Catherine Waugh McCulloch, the dry democratic women cannot be scared, or bossed, or herded into the wet camp. The thing has been tried. It failed ignominiously in 1928 and it will fail again.

They have failed, too, in underestimating the depth of conviction of dry democrats, the historic background of this whole struggle, its relation to national wellbeing and sound public morality. It only shows how much deeper are moral issues than other issues. The lifelong convictions of the dry voter are a part of him; an element in his religion, created in him at some altar or fireside. For these convictions he has given up hope of party preferment, or personal ambition. Men and women have died for this cause. Tammany and the wet democrats cannot understand how a man or men can die for any issue. That is their fundamental weakness.

Here is a startling political anomaly—several million dry democrats but not one of them may aspire to the presidency. Why? Because Smith and Raskob do not want a dry democratic candidate. They contemptuously notify dry democrats who believe in prohibition that they are not wanted as candidates, as leaders, nor to participate in any part of the party program. They are expected to smother their lifelong convictions and support wet candidates, especially the Tammany hall brand. Smith and Raskob feel that they can disregard the dry democrats of the west and border states. They have dealt with the south dry rebels by administering third degree punishment to their leaders and feel that they have the south coerced.

Why is it that no dry democrat dare aspire to the presidential nomination? What chance has a Senator Costigan, or any of that brilliant galaxy of Washingtonians upon whom the mantle of Wilson and Bryan descended—Houston Thompson, Daniel Roper and Congressman Jamieson? Why has Catholic Senator Walsh (of Montana, of course) not a chance to be considered?

Yet a Ritchie, a Smith, a Lewis meets instant favor in the wet councils of the party? Can only a wet democrat be a future nominee for the presidency? Must a dry democrat henceforth look only to dripping wets as his party nominees?

If there is any real hope for the dry democrats it is in Mr. McAdoo. Were he now to sound a call to battle the whole situation would be changed in an instant. His reluctance again to take definite leadership is the one thing that gives the wet democrats such an apparent lease of power. Should this gifted and brilliant champion (of progressivism as well as prohibition) again assume leadership there would be a new day for democracy.

A Daring Dry Leadership

But leadership now must be daring; it must be a leadership that is unafraid and will go on through to the end of the fight, no matter where that may lead. The dry democrats of the nation will not in this crisis follow a policy that leads inevitably to a blind alley and an abject surrender to the wets under Smith or Roosevelt leadership. The Bryan-Wilson democracy of the nation has not had a fighting issue nor a fighting spirit since the days of its great leaders.

The chances that a third party will be any real factor in the 1932 contest are extremely remote. Conditions do not exist out of which a third party can develop into anything formidable. No leadership is yet ready. The plans and policies are not specific enough to permit of the formulation of a concrete party program which will represent a rallying point for any large groups, now so diverse. A recent third party movement of intellectual people headed by John Dewey will not figure largely in votes, though it may well form the nucleus of a new party some quadrenniums hence.

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Moreover, the third party progressives, the economic radicals, fail to take into account the nature of the great prohibition sweep, the sincerity and depth of conviction of the prohibition element. It is as wide as the nation, it prevails wherever Christians are found; it is a part of the Christian creed, Protestant and Catholic, for the dry Catholics are the staunchest advocates of prohibition to be found in the nation.

The economic radicals of both parties will undoubtedly some day form a new party, but if and when they do they must take the prohibition sentiment into account. Any movement, any new party that defies the eighteenth amendment is doomed in advance to overwhelming defeat. No one is asking that a new third party shall specially champion prohibition. We recognize that such a party will be formed to go into the arena for other special causes. But such a movement cannot attack or flout law enforcement or the amendment. It must recognize the amendment as a settled national policy and must pledge itself to its enforcement. Such a party can then go on to its new reforms that may be required for the social conditions of that time in which it will become a real national movement. It can attract both drys and wets. No reform party can win by attacking prohibition.

On an independent dry democratic ticket McAdoo can poll many millions of votes (north and south) and carry a number of doubtful states. Either the great war secretary of the treasury or some other dry democratic leader can profoundly influence the future political history of the nation, and immortality waits for such a leader.

God, the Inescapable

(Part II)

By Henry Nelson Wieman

WE ARE seeking for that for which we can live and die in loving devotion because it is supremely worthful. Is there something to which all the resources of humanity can be committed, not only now but throughout all time, not only the resources of my race but all races? Is there something for which all humanity can blaze to destruction if need be, because it is more precious than anything else that is or ever can be? Can such passionate devotion of all men throughout all time be rationally justified? Yes, we say, if there is anything going on which carries the very highest possibilities of value, it alone is that for which all men should live supremely, and there is no other way of life which can be rationally justified.

We propose that that which carries highest possibilities of value is a kind of interaction which springs up between individuals and groups, which generates a growing body of shared experience. Through mutual criticism, clarification, and self-expression between individuals and groups, this body of shared experience takes on that kind of order which is called beauty and truth. It produces that kind of community which is called Christian love. Through it error is corrected, vision is magnified, sorrow and evil transmuted, creative synthesis achieved, stimulus and suggestion provided which give rise to new and unpredictable discoveries.

It is superhuman because it operates without the conscious intent of man and in opposition to most of his ways. This is revealed most clearly in the case of the child just as he learns how to talk. Then he babbles out his heart to those about him and seeks to share all their experience, without reservation of any kind. This he does quite spontaneously, without any plan or purpose on his part. It is an activity that springs up within him and between him and others, when any favorable opportunity is offered. But it is thwarted and killed as soon as the plans and customs of men are brought to bear upon the child. So we say it is superhuman, although it operates in human life.

It is superhuman, furthermore, because it generates personality. It is a commonplace of social psychology that personality can exist only in a society. Personality is something that develops only when there is some interaction of the sort we have described. Therefore, human personality does not create this kind of interaction. Rather this interaction creates personality. The biological organism is created biologically. But the personality is created by this kind of social interaction. Fortunately for the child, there is always enough of this sharing of experience to make him a personality. But all other kinds of interaction maim and stunt our personalities. We are all more or less maimed and stunted. But here is what alone can save us and crown us with the supreme good. Here is God.

Genuine Creativity

Whatever is creative is on that account unpredictable, because creativity means precisely to bring forth what cannot be predicted. This interaction by which creative synthesis of experience is achieved, is the most creative activity we know anything about. It is progressive integration at the level of human society. We can sometimes observe it in operation when a group of individuals come together to discuss experiences, providing they come into this common presence with open minds, no one of them trying to display his own leadership or knowledge or brilliance, no one

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trying to dominate, no one insisting on his own infallibility and yet no one fearing to express his truest conviction. Sometimes this process will get under way in such a group where two or three are gathered together in the right spirit. The consequences are then quite unpredictable and uncontrollable. No man going into such a group can predict what his ideas and his view of the world will be when he comes out of it. No man can tell how his own personality will be transformed. We are not referring to any emotional upheaval. We mean simply the transforming and molding power of this process of interaction.

No man can tell how the actual world in which he is to live will be transformed by it. We mean he cannot tell how different will be henceforth the objects that enlist his interest, how different will be the meaning he attaches to them, nor what new enterprise will hold him because of the work of this process of interaction. His world will be different, he will be different, his ideas will be different. History, in some measure, will be different. The process has objective, observable consequences and is unpredictable in its consequences, therefore cannot be controlled by men and in that sense is superhuman, sovereign over human life, not subject to humans. Yet human beings have their part in it and must meet certain conditions before it will operate.

Shutting Out God

But if this be God, we see how we shut him out of human life and what little part he has in our world. While he is sovereign when he begins to work, he waits on us to meet the conditions. But we do not meet the conditions, for they are very trying. If this be God, he can enter human life only in a very heartbreaking way. Christian tradition calls it the way of the cross. We submit that all social reform, social justice, and any other social improvement which does not bring God and man together in this blessed community, is just so much lost motion.

Jesus and the group he gathered brought to unique fulfillment that interaction between individuals which is the highest expression of God in the world. We call it the *interaction which creatively communizes experience.* This expression of God is by no means limited to Jesus and his group, but there we find it with peculiar fulness and power. Furthermore—and this is the important thing—this process of interaction which is God would not be operative in the world today to the measure it is, nor so accessible to men on meeting the required conditions, if Jesus had not lived. In this sense, God in Christ is a living and present power. Jesus is not only a great example and teacher, but one through whom we now have access to a saving power at work among men.

Jesus endured the suffering necessary to initiate a communizing process at deeper levels than had been known before. Not the nails but the misunderstanding was the source of his suffering and the price he had to pay. That kind of interaction (called the Holy Spirit) which engenders mutual understanding at the deeper levels of experience cannot be brought to men unless some one first undergoes the cruelest kind of misunderstanding in introducing it. This is one meaning of the cross and the salvation that it brings. Since Jesus brought God into the world in this saving form at the price of great suffering, and since this saving power is still operative as a present process, we call him Savior. The interaction among men which engenders community of shared lives, in so far as it issues from the life of Jesus, is the saving power of Christ in the world today.

But our words and our ideas about God are very unworthy. There is nothing infallible about our present assertions nor the assertions of anyone else. Only we know infallibly that there is something unwordably precious which we call God. How do we know it? Because the best there is and ever can be, whatever its value and magnitude, is a self-proving proposition. Whoever has committed himself completely to living for that, has found the way of blessedness. All our ideas about God may be mistaken. All our efforts may be misdirected. It may be that the tenderest deed God can do is to slay us because of the error of our ways. But all our lives may be lived for God, all our powers devoted to him, despite our error, because our breathing and eating are only to serve him, however mistaken our efforts. All our searching is not to find the reality of God. God is certain. Our searching is to find the truth about God. We are uncertain about that.

Coming Revelation

When God is in the world with creative power far more than now, our ideas about him may become very different from anything in this writing. We shall then be able to observe him more carefully and continuously, and so correct the error in our present description of him. We may also find that we can only express what he has come to mean to us by the use of a richer and more intimate vocabulary than anything now at our command.

But the existence of God is beyond question. The existence of God ought to be taken for granted among all men as we take for granted the existence of earth and sun and trees. So it would be, as it has been throughout most of the history of man, if religious leaders had not identified God with their particular idea about God, thus compelling those who did not accept such ideas to deny the existence of God. If God is not thus and so, there is no God, they have said. Thus we have been thrust into the present confusion where thousands do not think there is any God and every discussion of God must labor over the question of God's existence instead of beginning where it ought to by taking the existence for granted and only inquiring what the nature of God must be.

The bare existence of God ought to be a commonplace, so commonplace that no one should consider it exciting. Where the excitement would commence, and the glory and wonder, would be in discovering what God is, not *that* he is. But the opposite move-

ment has gone so far in identifying God with certain beliefs about God, that many eminent leaders in religious thought assert that God is only an hypothesis! A religion based upon an hypothesis is impossible. The tremendous upthrust of religion must have solid rock on which to stand. Our ideas about God may well be hypothetical, but not the reality of God. In this I follow my good guide, Dr. William Adams Brown in his "Pathways to Certainty."

The peace and enthusiasm of religious living cannot depend on beliefs. They depend on living for God, however mysterious and unknown his nature, and however mistaken and foolish my efforts. He who must depend on inspiring and optimistic beliefs about the universe and man, for peace in his heart and power in his hand, is lost. My beliefs do not sustain me. The inescapable reality of God sustains me. Therefore I question all my beliefs. This is that blessed foolishness which alone can release the full powers of critical intelligence. Only so can one dare the utmost rigor of scientific inquiry, not fleeing from it into any region of inner experience, but standing ready to cast out every belief which evidence will not support. For God is the inescapable reality.

BOOKS

Schweitzer Africanus

THE FOREST HOSPITAL AT LAMBARENE. *By Albert Schweitzer. Henry Holt & Company,* $2.00.

A COMPARISON of the characters and careers of Dr. Albert Schweitzer and Sir Wilfred Grenfell reveals the heartening fact that neither race nor climate is more than a casual incident where the enterprises of great spirits are concerned. There is an identical quality in the work of the Englishman on the frozen coast of Labrador and of the German in the reeking jungles of what was formerly German but is now French Equatorial Africa.

Everybody knows, or ought to know, about Schweitzer. If he had chanced to live in a less literate age, legends would have grown up around him and within a century after his death the simple but marvelous record of his career would have developed into a story of miraculous exploits. At the age of thirty he had already won recognition for scholarship and original thought in the fields of theology and philosophy, had studied with the great organists of Paris and gained fame as one of the foremost organists in Europe, had written a standard life of Johann Sebastian Bach and had become perhaps the greatest authority upon the works of that greatest of musicians. Then he became a doctor of medicine and a skillful surgean and went to Africa as an independent medical missionary. He earned the money for financing his mission and building his hospital by giving organ recitals throughout Europe. He was at Lambarene from 1913 to 1917, when ill health, the exhaustion of his funds and the turmoil of the war-racked world compelled him to come home. In 1924 he went out again. This book is the record of his experiences from 1924 until his return in 1928 for rest, funds and the completion of his work on "The Mysticism of St. Paul," which has now gone through two editions in German and has recently been published in English. He is now back in Africa, and there is hope that he may visit America next year.

Schweitzer has little to say about the "romance of Africa." Almost every casual traveler who has written a book is more fluent in rhapsodizing upon the haunting charm and the dark beauty of that mysterious continent. Though he unquestionably loves Africa and has given ample proof that he does, there is little evidence that he likes it. The climate along the Ogowe river is vile, the landscape has no great scenic beauty, and the people for the most part are and remain unappreciative savages. But there is suffering and dire need and the people, however unattractive their personal qualities may be, are human beings and therefore brothers and children of God. There is infinite patience with them, as much tenderness as is good for them, and unwearied service for their needs both physical and spiritual; but there is no sentimentality and no romanticizing of the situation. There is a job to be done which nobody else seems to want to do. The needs of men call him and the love of Christ constrains him, so he goes to it with the full strength of a powerful body and a great mind.

And what a job it is! It includes doctoring and operating more hours a day than would seem possible even if there were nothing else to do; keeping the peace and administering discipline to one or two hundred savage patients and their relatives; teaching morals and religion; erecting buildings; looking after the food supply; conducting original research in tropical medicine; carrying on his own scholarly studies (of which "The Mysticism of St. Paul" is one fruit); and every evening a period of practice on a piano with pedal attachment so that his organ technique may be ready for the next recital tour in Europe. The story of these varied activities is told with the utmost simplicity as though in a private diary or in letters home, but the reader must be wholly devoid of imagination who cannot see in it the record of an heroic enterprise which is one of the greatest glories of the gospel in our time.

W. E. G.

Foster on Nietzsche

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE. *By George Burman Foster. The Macmillan Company,* $2.50.

IT WAS during the years of the war, and not very long before his own death, which occurred in 1918, that Professor Foster put into the form of written lectures his interpretation of the thought of that German whom the superheated imagination of almost everybody west of the Rhine considered the arch-fiend of philosophy and the spiritual instigator of the war—Nietzsche. As we have begun to abandon the one-guilty-nation theory, it is difficult to maintain with any conviction the theory of one-guilty-philosopher. Yet the name of Nietzsche is still spoken most often in tones of horror or hatred. It was characteristic of Professor Foster's courage that he dared to speak in other tones than those, even in 1916. To criticize Nietzsche, he felt that he must understand him; and to understand, he must make some imaginative response to the challenge which Nietzsche flung in the face of complacency and moral flabbiness.

Nietzsche, "the fiery spirit of whose teachings tastes like a tonic when we are sick of the mush of benevolent mediocrity," hated democracy and Christianity as the two great sentimentalisms of history. Foster loved both as passionately as

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Nietzsche hated them, yet he could find both moral and intellectual values in the stern creed which he set himself to interpret. The kernel of Nietzsche, in his opinion, consisted in its giving a positive and active turn to Schopenhauer's doctrine of will under the influence of Darwin's doctrine of the struggle for survival. He was a delayed representative of *Sturm und Drang,* an energized and optimistic Werther. But he was also one who understood, as neither the earlier foes nor the conventional defenders of Christianity did, the ground on which must be fought the final battle of Christianity with its critics. Foster even ventures to say that, in spite of his sharp invective, Nietzsche was "a profoundly religious man, in his own way."

This book is not a collection of scraps, or of chips and shavings from the craftsman's workshop, but a completed product. The manuscript, preserved by Mrs. Foster, has been edited by Curtis W. Reese, but it speaks with the authentic and inimitable voice of Foster. W. E. G.

Books in Brief

THE GOLDEN ROAD IN ENGLISH LITERATURE. *By Amy Cruse. Thomas Y. Crowell,* $3.50.

It is a lucky child, of from twelve years up, who gets hold of this book. If it does not confirm him in the love of good books and give him some feeling for the charm of the rich tradition of English literature throughout the ages, the doctor ought to be consulted. While it is quite obviously a book for young people, adults who are willing to pass lightly over occasional remarks about what "you will read when you are older" will find that they need stoop very little to its level and that it makes the "golden road of English literature" an even more delightful highway than they knew it was.

SEEING PARIS. *By E. M. Newman. Funk & Wagnalls,* $5.00.

Mr. Newman, who has pretty well covered the world, taking remarkably fine pictures and collecting data for the travel lectures which he gives to large audiences, knows as much about Paris as any man needs to. His book will repay careful reading by anyone who is planning a visit to that city or by anyone who must make reading a substitute for traveling. The charm of the book is inherent in its subject matter rather than in its style, but it is packed with information and its illustrations are copious.

CABALLEROS. *By Ruth Laughlin Barker. D. Appleton & Co.,* $3.00.

Santa Fe and the Southwest have been coming into their own in the last few years. They were the first settled and the last discovered section of the United States. The literature by which the wonders and charm of this region have been introduced to eastern readers ranges all the way from a book by a widely known lady author (whose name it would be unkind to reveal) who collected in two days the material for two chapters on Sante Fe, to the accurate and moving writings of Mary Austin who makes Santa Fe her home. But Mrs. Barker has the advantage that Santa Fe has always been her home. She was born there, has always lived there, has done newspaper work there, has edited an historical magazine called "Old Sante Fe," and has devoted much time to the study of the history and culture of the area. So when she writes of "the romance of Sante Fe and the Southwest," it is with no ignorant enthusiasm and no cheap emotion based upon an impression of novelty or quaintness. The romance is there—no mistake about it—but it needs just such interpretation as it gets here from one who has not only learned the facts and seen the sights but has assimilated and evaluated them with intelligence. I call this the best of all the recent books in this field.

AMERICAN POETRY, FROM THE BEGINNING TO WHITMAN. *Edited by Louis Untermeyer. Harcourt, Brace & Co.,* $3.50.

Mr. Untermeyer's "Modern American Poetry," which began with Emily Dickinson, presented the cream of American poetry from the civil war to the present day. This volume ends about where that one left off, with enough overlapping to make a tight joint. The two together constitute a complete panorama of American poetry. The bulk of the two volumes (the present one contains over 800 pages) gives the anthologist room to include practically everything that is important, and his critical conscience leads him to omit poems of little merit even though they have attained great popularity—like Longfellow's "Psalm of Life." The 60-page preface is a brilliant and informing summary of the history of poetry for the period covered. An important feature is the re-estimate, almost rediscovery, of such nearly forgotten poets as Pinkney, Very, and Melville.

CORRESPONDENCE

Yes, Mr. Whitney Was Generous

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I liked your editorial comment, "We can expect an end to that sort of thing." However, I wonder if your presentation was entirely fair to Payne Whitney. Was he not also a great philanthropist and did he not do a great deal of good with his accumulated wealth? As I recall it was not all passed on to his heirs, but much of it went to educational institutions and to charitable enterprises.

New York City. W. D. HATCH.

Burial of a Poet

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I was at the "Cedars" for a brief holiday. While there I was informed that on Saturday, August 22, the body of Khalil Gibran would be brought to Becharreh, his native village, for final interment.

With a few other guests I planned to go to Becharreh for the funeral ceremony. Early in the morning the body was received at Beirut by the high commissioner with military honors. After a service at the Maronite cathedral the funeral procession, which represented every phase of life of Lebanon and Syria, started on the way to Becharreh via Tripoli. As the funeral procession wound its way up the mountain side, it seemed like a huge crawling insect. The man who was by my side said "there are more than 500 automobiles." I reckon there were a few less. At every village along the road they had erected evergreen arches and the procession was halted for addresses by the village leaders, so that it was towards sundown that the procession reached Becharreh where a large platform had been erected in the square in the center of the village which was decorated with evergreens and with white and black flags. Companies of bedouin horsemen met the funeral procession, which appeared much more like a triumphal entry than a funeral. The ringing of the church bells and the general atmosphere of pride emphasized this.

In conversation with this one and that one I came across a relative who took me to the place where once stood the very small house in which Gibran was born. Part of the walls are still standing. The village fathers have decided to use the site as a museum and monuments.

Gibran with his parents went to America at the age of 12, returned to Syria at the age of 16 and at 20 went back to America

with his mother. He received encouragement in America and devoted himself to securing a general education and an education in art. He planned to visit his birthplace next year, but unfortunately death interfered and he has made his return visit a year in advance. One cannot help but wish that he was conversant with the triumphal procession and triumphal entry into his native village which his friends and the friends of his family were giving him. It did me good to see how the people of the town and of nearby villages and even the bedouins joined in honoring their fellow-countryman who achieved fame in a foreign land.

Jerusalem. A. C. HARTE.

Repealing a Vicious Law

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I call the attention of your California readers to the fact that petitions are in circulation throughout this state for the repeal of the mischievously misnamed "Criminal Syndicalism Law." The petitions, in my opinion, ought to have the cordial support and practical cooperation of the forward-minded Christian forces of the state.

The law in question was adopted during the post-war hysteria, April 30, 1919. It was made an emergency measure, so as to forestall referendum appeal to the people. Its vicious character has been thoroughly exhibited by high legal authorities, including an exhaustive report by the eminent jurist, Dr. George W. Kirchwey, "A Survey of the Workings of the Criminal Syndicalism Law of California," which can be had through the American Civil Liberties union. Dr. Kirchwey was former president of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. "In rejecting the experience of the race out of which that law has grown," remarks Dr. Kirchwey concerning this California statute, "it is incurring dangers greater than those it seeks to avoid."

Our experience in California since this vicious law was enacted confirms this judgment of the eminent authority quoted above. The criminal syndicalism law has not operated to prevent the growth of radicalism in California. It has operated to increase the lawlessness of the police, and the enlargement of public contempt for the courts. It is a menace to legitimate social protest, and orderly labor agitation on behalf of tolerable labor conditions. The churches of California will miss a large opportunity to vindicate themselves as friends of social decency and real democracy if they fail to work with the laboring classes, and the progressives of the state generally, on behalf of these petitions, which are asking only that the act which ought to have been submitted to the voters in the first place shall be submitted to them now. Copies of the petitions for circulation can be had by applying to the state committee for the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, room 603, 1179 Market street, San Francisco, or I will be glad to forward such petitions myself, in any quantity desired to responsible applicants.

La Crescenta, Calif. ROBERT WHITAKER.

Moratorium Supports Missionary

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I am wondering if it has not occurred to Quintus Quiz or to any other of your challenging contributors that the Hoover moratorium should have a profound and heightening effect upon foreign missions. Many of us have been at our wits' end in trying to present missions in a new and interesting way, for such ideas as "See America First," "Buy American Goods," "Protect American Industry," "Stay Out of Foreign Affairs," "Be Isolated and Insure the High Standard of Living," have made it like beating one's head against the rock of Gibralter in endeavoring to impress the value and importance of missions upon a people fed daily on rations of narrow nationalism. But the moratorium has saved the day. It has given us a new slant upon the whole question, and has presented us with an argument that cannot easily be pushed aside. How can the average layman continue to say, "Keep the money at home and keep it in circulation," when the government has canceled international debts for a year at least and when our leading bankers are sending millions across the pond? How can they continue to close their eyes to the peoples in other lands when international conferences are held to help a foreign people? Has not the moratorium opened way once again for a new emphasis on foreign missions? Did we not see that "isolated" we would possibly be ruined and so would Germany?

The Hoover administration has embarked upon a new theory in government. It is no longer isolation but cooperation. To my way of thinking, the moratorium, even though forced upon us by economic forces, adds greatly to the biblical truth that if we are to prosper we must be willing to "bear one another's burdens." The strange thing is that sheer circumstances have forced us to believe that bearing one another's burdens is the only way out of this international depression. In these vital days why should the churches with their pulpits sit back and allow the press to steal their message? In some respects the press and various magazine writers have become truly internationalists in their outlook, even if it is only because of present conditions. Here is what an editorial writer had to say in the New York Times for Monday, August 3rd: "A financial crash in one country is certain to cause a shock in all others. . . . The concern of one is the concern of all. . . . If there can be helpful cooperation between nations in matters of finance, why can there not be also in matters of trade?" "The concern of one is the concern of all." That sounds like a pure internationalist. Why have the churches and their pulpits ceased crying about the world being their parish and allowed the newspapers to take it up? Can it be that we of the churches no longer believe "that the concern of one is the concern of all?" Have we finally come to the place where we believe that Hinduism and Buddhism are good enough for India, Confucianism for China, and materialism for America? Are we going to pass up this opportunity which has been presented by our government and fail to capitalize it for the furtherance of foreign missions? Are we going to allow our political leaders to lead us in the path of international relationships? Can we afford as a church to remain silent and allow other agencies to tell the world that "the concern of one is the concern of all?"

Yours for more arguments in favor of missions,

Meyersdale, Pa. GEORGE A. FALLON.

Do We Need a Return?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Recently I noticed that some of the leading Jews of America are "looking for the coming of the messiah." It is interesting news! I note also that James Douglas, writing in the London Daily Express of recent date, asks this question, "If God should make another Christ and send him to London, or Rome, or New York, or Paris, would we believe him?"—any more than we believe in the Jesus of Galilee—or more than the people of his day believed him? Probably we would not.

Imagine Jesus the Christ returning to earth and taking charge of some great mass movement, say in New York! And imagine, if you can, a return of the early disciples and followers. Imagine a Mark or a John in one of our great newspaper offices. Imagine a Bartholomew or a Peter in one of our metropolitan pulpits. Imagine a Thomas or a Matthew at the head of a great school, or a great business enterprise in America. It seems a far cry from the old ways and methods of the Galilean days—but after all, are fundamental principles different from those of two centuries back?

Would Jesus and His apostles be able today to iron out some of the world's troubles or to show the statesmen, politicians, business magnates and pulpit orators how to adjust today's muddle, or to lift the lid off the pot of depression? In the absence of these "real conditions," however, might it not be well for our leaders to "put into definite practice *now*" some of the well-known principles of the Nazarene?

Olney, Md. THOMAS F. OPIE.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Labor Blames Bankers for Ills

Declares English Crisis Precipitated to Cover Financiers' Mistakes—Dean Inge on Humanism

(British Table Talk)

LONDON, Sept. 8.—The week has been taken up with the preparation of a revised budget by the government, and with the making of plans to resist it by labor. The leaders of the opposition assert that the bankers and international financiers in general are responsible for the crisis. This has been stated emphatically by Mr. Hobday, the president of the Trades Union congress. They hint, even when they do not openly say it, that the bankers have let the nation down, and in their extremity see no other way out than an attack upon the scale of living of the wage earners. They believe that an ultimatum ostensibly from abroad was presented to the government to the effect that if they did not reduce the "dole," the financiers of the world would give no help.

The answer is given by the spokesmen of the new government that no such responsibility can be laid upon the bankers, but that without question there was a tendency to withdraw gold from London because the financiers believed that Britain was living beyond its means. This was made evident by our borrowing a million pounds a week to pay the deficiency on the "dole." Something had to be done at once without waiting for any reconstruction of the financial life of the nations. But before the end of the week we shall know more of the case for and against the new government. Parliament reassembles today, and Mr. Snowden presents his budget on Thursday.

It would be misleading not to set on record the immense difficulties which the government must face. Labor is almost solid against it, the teachers are certain to resist any cut in their salaries, others who are singled out, as they think, for unjust treatment, will use their influence against the budget. Everything depends upon the ability of the government to convince the country of its case and to remove the suspicion that we are the victims either of the political schemes of the financiers or of their desire to cover their own miscalculations.

* * *

The King Gives A Lead

The king, desiring personally to participate in the movement for the reduction of national expenditure, has decided that the civil list shall be reduced by £50,000 while the emergency lasts. This means that the king surrenders that amount of his income for the use of the nation. The king has an income which is not more than sufficient to provide for the heavy claims upon him, and the sacrifice of £50,000 a year, which will be a real sacrifice, proves once more how eager the king is, as he has always been, not only to share in such a national sacrifice, but to lead the way. The prince of Wales in the same spirit has offered £10,000 out of the funds of the duchy of Cornwall for the same cause. It is not the flattery of a courtier, but the simple truth, which Mr. MacDonald expresses when he says in answer to the king's offer: "Whenever his majesty's subjects are called upon to share a heavy burden it has, if I may say so, been characteristic of his majesty to lead the way."

* * *

Dean Inge on Christianity And Modernism

One of the annual utterances to which we look forward is the address which Dean Inge is accustomed to give every September to the Congress of Modern Churchmen. The meetings which are being held this week at Oxford have for their general theme, "Man." The president, the dean of St. Paul's, chose for his subject, "Humanism, Pagan and Christian." With much of the program of scientific humanism he believed that Christians might agree, especially with its emphasis on disinterestedness. "A fine cold air blew about the difficult summits which the men of science attempted to scale." Humanism moreover had justly criticized the church for being too much occupied with cure and too little with prevention; Christianity had founded hospitals, but if left to itself it would not be teaching anything but religion. That criticism, the dean said, went home. But too much was hoped for from evolutionary utilitarianism. The new morality did not satisfy those who were trying to practice it. There was, after all, a true otherworldliness which alone could transform this world. At the close the dean said that we could not be Greeks and we could not be pagans. Neopaganism meant the rejection of one of those revelations which "like Hellenism itself was a permanent endowment of the human race."

* * *

And So Forth

Preparations are being made for a Religious books' week from Oct. 11 to 18. Publishers and leading churchmen are uniting to bring before the public the provision that there is for reading upon religion.

The letters between Mr. Bernard Shaw and Ellen Terry have been published, but since the price is 5 guineas a volume one has to be content at present with the press extracts.

The summer has been dull and cloudy, but September seems likely to give us some cold but sunny days, for which we are truly thankful.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Cheer Attack on Capitalism

Effort to Stampede Episcopal Convention to Conservative Policy Fails—Delegates Roused on Social Issues

(Special Correspondence)

DENVER, Sept. 20.—Just one thing has happened during the first week's session of the 50th Episcopal triennial general convention meeting here. That was the significant response to Spencer Miller's address Thursday on "The World Crisis and the Church's Responsibility." Mr. Miller is the church's consultant on industrial relations. When he told 5,000 delegates and visitors that the experiment of capitalism has failed, and made them like it so well that an ovation, led by George W. Wickersham and Stephen Baker, president of the Manhattan Trust company, one of the most conservative financial institutions in New York, lasting several minutes was given that pronouncement it may be assumed that quite enough has happened in one short week in the history of the Protestant Episcopal church.

The convention got away last Tuesday to a false start. Apparently it had been assumed that certain sectarian interests lying solely within the Episcopal church, such as divorce and birth control are about the only important matters nowadays. The Rt. Rev. Michael Bolton Furse, lord bishop of St. Alban's, England, had been imported to launch a reactionary divorce and birth control movement in the "keynote" sermon on the opening day. The sermon was a masterpiece of negation. He flayed communism and its twin offspring, divorce and birth control, while a congregation of 10,000 persons sat back stunned by the realization that Nero can still fiddle while Rome burns. His lordship, St. Alban's, is a good bishop who had been poorly advised by his American friends. However, the reaction against Bishop Furse's mentors, who led him to attempt to prejudice pending legislation on divorce, has proved to be the happy ending of a sad tale.

Temper Not Conservative

While such minor matters as this particular church's attitude on divorce, the question of the Romanizing "American Missal" and other partisan issues—all of which make very noisy news—will receive appropriate legislative action, and consume far more time than they are worth, yet the vital mind of the church has turned to real things. These are world peace, the emerging social order, the immediate unemployment situation, the point blank fact that masses are hungry, and that the forces of the present economic and social

revolution may either be allowed to explode, or be constructively guided.

Spencer Miller uncovered the church's real interest. That interest is summarized in the preceding paragraph. In making this statement, this writer acknowledges a mistaken pre-convention prediction. He said the temper of the church would be conservative. He based his assumption on the significance of Bishop Furse's visitation, and his belief that the convention would be completely controlled by conservatives. The response to Mr. Miller's challenge led to the immediate call for the appointment of a committee of 21 bishops, clergymen and laymen to study the present economic situation and to report before the convention adjourns. The bishops have appointed their members of the committee and the house of deputies will announce its appointees tomorrow.

Some of Mr. Miller's statements which will be hard to forget, follow:

"The present world crisis constitutes a full, a final test of the entire capitalistic system, a test to which it has never before been subjected.

"Attempts to deal with economic problems on the basis of a nationalistic philosophy have become growingly ineffective. Economic self-sufficiency, tariff walls and other devices have proved to be an impediment to mutual advancement. And isolation, whether in politics or in economics (and, we might add, ecclesiastics) is no longer a policy, but a sorry predicament. Economics is disclosing not only that the world is one, but that we are 'all members, one of another.'

"There has emerged a realization of the total inadequacy of our present credit structure to serve the needs of the modern world.

The Beginning of a New Era

"The present depression is not just another turn in the business cycle—it is the end of an era and the beginning of a new. As the historian looks back upon our present predicament, and sees the way in which the great depression followed inevitably upon the great war, he will be amazed at our inability to read the signs of the times. He will find a far greater parallel between the changes through which we are passing and those great changes of the social and political revolutions in England and France than to any depressions from 1857 to the present time, in the United States.

"Against this background of the world's crisis our own economic depression, and resulting unemployment, takes on a new significance. We realize now how impossible it is for us to regain our prosperity, as a nation, while the rest of the world is prostrate.

"Unemployment is not only a severe economic problem—it is also one of our most searching moral problems.

"What then, is the challenge to the church? Has it any authority or responsibility to speak on these questions? For those who think this is no concern of the church, nor the province of the Christian religion, let me call attention to the ringing words of Bishop Anderson, former presiding bishop of this church, who, in his great keynote sermon to the general convention but three years ago, said, 'Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done' is an

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JOHN EVANS.

Peace Meetings Arranged for 150 American Cities

"How may another world war be averted?" is the theme to be discussed at peace mass meetings to be held in 150 cities across the United States and Canada, during the week Oct. 25-31, under the auspices of the World Tomorrow. These meetings are sponsored by a committee of 275 distinguished peace leaders, under the chairmanship of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, of Union seminary, and Dr. George C. Pidgeon, former moderator of the United Church of Canada. Five major topics will be discussed at the meetings: disarmament, world organization, removing causes of hostility, war resistance and education for peace. The largest auditoriums available are being reserved in the various cities and not less than 200 outstanding peace advocates will speak at the meetings.

Dry Drive Planned For Colleges

A drive to enlist college youth in the study of the prohibition problem is being undertaken by the Intercollegiate Prohibition association, through a series of 50-mile forums, announces Harry S. Warner, secretary of the association. Students, professors and college workers within a radius of 50 miles will be gathered in each of these conferences, which will be preceded or followed by conferences and addresses by speakers and student secretaries in the nearby colleges, thus reaching directly 500 colleges during the year. Columbus, O., will have the first forum Oct. 17, 18. Among the subjects to be considered are: "Alcohol in Modern Society," "The Social and Economic Aspects of Prohibition," "The Canadian Systems of Liquor Control" and "The Swedish and Other Possible Alternatives."

New Speakers at Chicago Sunday Evening Club

Among the speakers to be heard at the Chicago Sunday Evening club this season for the first time are Rev. Harold L. Bowman of Portland, Ore.; Dr. Luther A. Weigle of Yale; Rev. Paul Scherer of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity, New York; Rev. Henry M. Edmonds of Birmingham, Ala., and Canon Guy Rogers of England. The club opens Oct. 4; Clifford W. Barnes, the president, who has been in Europe the past two months, attending as a delegate the convention of the World alliance for international friendship through the churches, held in Cambridge, will tell of the work of that body, speaking on the subject "Europe and the "Peace Movement." Fred B. Smith will also speak.

Canada Adopts Relief Program

Dominion Government Accepts Responsibility for Huge Unemployment Need —Eastern Churches Aid Western

(Correspondence from Canada)

TORONTO, Sept. 16.—The Canadian government has given public assurance that no person in Canada goes hungry or unclothed. The dimensions of the distress may be appreciated when we report that the official registration shows something over five per cent of the entire population without means of living. How many more not commonly reckoned among working people are also out of work is unknown. How many are just kept going on half time, and thus not included among the unemployed, is unknown. But it is safe to say that less than one-fifth of the population must be more or less severely involved in hardship or want. The suffering is on such a scale that neither municipal nor provincial, much less voluntary, agencies are adequate to meet the situation.

The national government therefore was given authority by parliament to spend an unnamed amount of money in meeting the emergency. To ask a certain specified sum would invite from the provinces a plea for a certain proportion of the amount voted, and then politics would vitiate the whole process; therefore the government retained complete control of the expenditure, but is acting in closest accord with the governments of the several provinces which in turn consult the local and municipal authorities. The general idea is to provide work on public services rather than give money to keep persons in idleness and to this end the enterprises selected must be such as involve the largest proportion of expenditure on labor as compared with property or material.

* * *

Canada's Plan Of Relief

Single men are segregated for special work and are being gathered into huge labor camps, incidentally relieving the cities thereby of their presence and their support. These camps will be the basis of national construction works: chiefly, in central Canada, the building of a national highway to link eastern Canada with the lands west of the great lakes. In some western areas men will be employed in clearing scrub lands, using the small wood for fuel for the camps and needy persons. Each man in the camps will receive $2.40 per day, of which one dollar will be collected for food, which is to be abundant, wholesome and attractive. Seven hours will be the working day. In Ontario, at least, all men on entering the camp will be asked to deposit their permit for the purchase of liquor, thus insuring that the camp will exhibit a genuine situation of government control of liquor.

Besides these major enterprises for the unmarried men, many extensive works will be conducted in the several localities, and prominent among these are to be grade separations which will eliminate level crossing over railways and some extensive sewer construction. Very little is to be devoted to street widening or extension in cities, as a large proportion of the cost in such work goes to pay for property. While the government has retained complete control of expeditures, both in amount and distribution, the law requires that an accounting shall be given to parliament next March.

* * *

The East Helps The West

During the summer vacation an experiment was tried in the way of exchanging pulpits between east and west. In most cases, however, the arrangements only brought the western minister into an eastern pulpit. Toronto, for instance, heard five prominent pastors from Saskatchewan, beside others from British Columbia and Alberta. This experience is calculated to bring home to the church in the eastern areas the high quality of ministry being rendered by the church to the newer cities on the prairie, while at the same time it affords the western ministers an actual taste of life in the far off eastern cities, thus making for greater solidarity and mutual confidence. The fact that in the southern part of Saskatchewan drought has deprived a great area of the slightest provision for food or fodder has enlisted the sympathy of the church people in the east.

It happens that about ninety per cent of the people in this large region are among those who look to the United Church of Canada for religious ministry has elicited a powerful organization in that church to send great quantities of clothing for distribution among their fellow members in the stricken districts. For the supply of essential clothing the Red Cross accepts responsibility, relying in turn if necessary on government grants in aid. But the church, while aiding in the collection, distributes only through the Red Cross organization. The fellowship of the church is represented in the fact that throughout the needy areas United church pastors will act as agents of the Red Cross. Thus we shall have a fine cooperation of the state, the Red Cross and the organized benevolence of the church.

* * *

British Preachers In Canada

Overseas preachers in prominent pulpits include this year Dr. S. W. Hughes, already well known by his own work and as successor to Dr. John Clifford of London. British Wesleyans sent two men of high ability and deserved repute. Dr. Maldwyn Hughes of Wesley hall, Cambridge, occupied the pulpit of Timothy Eaton church and enriched its tradition with his fine scholarship and restrained fervor while there. He was elected the next president of the British Wesleyan conference, and has been reserved for this occasion because two months after he takes office the new United Church of Methodism will be organized. Thus his medical advisers have been ready to approve his tenure of office for that short time, so honor, long

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overdue, finds a suitable occasion. From Edinburgh came the Rev. A. E. Whitham, a Scottish Wesleyan. His fine philosophic insight and sure grasp of the ultimate realities was allied to a simple picturesque style in making his ministry memorable for years to come. Large numbers will welcome his return at an early date.

But the outstanding contribution was made by Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, who attracted to Toronto's largest church congregations to which it has long been a stranger. Dr. Hough supplied a strong positive message likely to offset the disposition to find religion without God, and also to lead men into better paths than those which liberalism has been indicating by such ambiguous signs as it has recently provided. Many and emphatic have been the appreciative expressions about this ministry by our visiting brethren from the old land.

ERNEST THOMAS.

Dr. Sockman Says Pollyanna Preaching Not Needed During Depression

Speaking from his pulpit at Madison Avenue Methodist church, New York city, Sept. 20, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman declared that the pulpit faces today its greatest opportunity of a generation, and "yet it is in imminent danger of forfeiting its chance for service and its claims to respect." "May God save the church from the imbecility of putting on a Pollyanna smile as the solution of the present panic," Dr. Sockman said. "The world is weary of public speakers, whether preachers or politicians, whistling in the dark to keep our spirits up. Better let us have frowning realism than a false optimism. There is a difference between courage and bluff and the time has come to get back to the former. Furthermore, let us not think that we of the church are meeting the situation by merely repeating pious platitudes about the need of 'getting back to God.' Granting that our social and business chaos is due to our violation of divine laws, what does 'getting back to God' mean? It certainly means more than an emotional effervescence of individual piety. Finding the will of God in our confused time is a task which calls for the service of our social sciences. To be sure, the church's function is not to be a sociological or economic expert, but if it is to guide men Godward it must consider concrete situations and social programs. Christ's plan involves the conversion of business systems as well as ministry to individual souls."

No Catholic Daily Wanted, Says Catholic Journalist

Following the talk of a Protestant prohibition newspaper, there have been rumors of proposals for a Catholic daily. This suggestion is answered in the Catholic magazine "Extension" by a well-informed Catholic journalist. His arguments are (1) such a paper would act against the interests of the existing diocesan weeklies, and (2) unless it were better than these weeklies it would fail. There is already published, it appears, a Catholic Daily Tribune, published in Dubuque, Ia., with 20,000 circulation.

Denver Listens to Anglican Bishop

Appeal to Rockefeller to Maintain Coal Wages Fails—Free Speech Forum Opened in Public Park

(Rocky Mountain Correspondence)

DENVER, Sept. 18.—The general convention of the Protestant Episcopal church is in session. For the impressive initial service, the Denver auditorium was transformed into a church seating more than 10,000. A processional of the bishops in their robes of office opened the service with colorful pageantry. The stately ritual of the church preceded the sermon by the Rt. Rev. Michael Furse, bishop of St. Albans, England. The discourse was based upon a denunciation of the bolshevists of Russia. Considerable time was spent upon the divorce evil. The sermon as given to the press contained a fiery tirade against birth control, but the bishop mercifully spared us this passage in his spoken discourse.

* * *

Appeal to Rockefeller Elicits No Response

The coal mining situation in Colorado has been stirred up by the reduction of wages by the Colorado Fuel and Iron company. The announcement came as a surprise, because the Rockefeller group had declared their intention to maintain existing levels of wages. Miss Josephine Roche, president of the Rocky Mountain Fuel company, immediately replied that there was no need for such reduction if operating and marketing abuses were corrected. She appealed to John D. Rockefeller, jr., in a telegram, to which there has apparently been no reply, "One word from you can prevent a recurrence of the human and economic waste which will result from the action taken by the Colorado Fuel and Iron company in cutting miners' wages. Following the Ludlow massacre you widely advertised a new industrial program by public assurances which now take fresh importance, to the effect that conditions leading to industrial unrest were not removed and the traditional and anti-social methods of the past are being again employed by your company."

The Rocky Mountain Fuel company is second only to the Colorado Fuel and Iron company in its production of coal in this region. Miss Roche has approached its management with the equipment and ideals of a social worker. Whether she is always right those of us who know little of the problems of coal mining cannot know. The people of social vision believe in her. Her

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employes believe in her. Her mines are unionized and on Labor day her men came to Denver to carry such banners in the parade as "We are behind Miss Roche 100 per cent." They have offered to return one-half of their wages as a loan for the operation of the business. President Hoover believes in her. He has placed her on a federal group to study remedies for evils in the coal industry.

* * *

Set Aside Public Park For Free Discussion

The city of Denver has designated a public park as the place where all public meetings shall be held in the future. It is hoped to eliminate street meetings and make this park serve the purposes of such an open forum as is conducted in Hyde Park, London. It can be used without securing a permit by the I. W. W., the communists, or any other group. The city has asked that they be notified of any meeting only that they may furnish police protection for any speaker. The wise statement was made, "The administration feels less trouble will be occasioned by permitting speakers complete freedom than to ban them from the streets and cause them to regard themselves as martyrs." The Denver ministers expressed confidence at their last meeting in the new police administration in the city.

* * *

New Senator Has Strong International Interests

Colorado is sending to the United States senate in the person of Edward P. Costigan a leader who will make some genuine contribution to the solution of the problems with which our nation and the world are faced. Unlike many of the so-called liberal senators from the middle west, his vision compasses international as well as domestic problems. He will not deal with issues on a partisan basis. He was prompt in his support of President Hoover in the German financial crisis. He has been fully as quick in his opposition to the administration's program to meet unemployment because it does not provide for the federal aid which he believes to be required by the situation. He lived as a close neighbor to the senior Senator La-Follette and they were close friends.

* * *

New Leaders for Social And Religious Work

Several new leaders of the social and spiritual life of the city have recently come to Denver. Miss Amanda Nelson has become the general secretary of the Y. W. C. A. She comes from the educational and research department of the national organization and has had wide and successful experience in association work. Miss Thelma Fowler has come from the public schools of Arcadia, Kansas, to become executive secretary of the Camp Fire Girls. The Rev. John Parten of Kansas City is the new minister of the City Park Baptist church. The Rev. C. E. Albertson of Loveland will succeed Dr. Ira McCormick as pastor of the Washington Park Community church. Dr. McCormick has become the district superintendent of the Methodist church.

VERE V. LOPER.

Rouse Clergy on 7-Day Week Evil

Transportation Workers' Plight Made Public—Communists Attack "Y"—Arnold Johnson Released

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Sept. 18.—Few New York citizens realize that while agitation goes on for the five-day week, thousands of employes of our subways and other transit lines are working ten hours a day seven days a week. The City Affairs committee is calling the attention of the public to this fact and as part of its effort to inform our citizenry a letter has been sent to some hundred or more clergymen pointing out these working conditions and asking that the good offices of the clergy be used to put an end to this long week. The appeal is signed by Bishop McConnell, Rabbi Sidney Goldstein and Dr. Melish.

* * *

Communists Attack Y. M. C. A.

The local communist press has been carrying several attacks on the Y. M. C. A. One of the most recent of these is couched in the form of an open letter signed by the Young Communist league. In this it is pointed out that the "Y" is "owned and controlled by the bosses and defends their interests against ours" (meaning the working youth of the land). "Have you ever stopped to think who supports the Y financially and why? The U. S. Rubber, the Bethlehem Steel, General Electric and American Telephone and Telegraph are only a few of them. William F. Morgan, son of J. P. Morgan, is a member of the board of trustees. J. R. Mott, the president of the World Alliance of the Y. M. C. A., is the son of the owner of the Mott iron works, a plant which pays extremely low wages. Why do these millionaires support the Y? Because they need an organization which can be used to keep the young workers from fighting against unemployment, against wage cuts." And more of the same general tenor.

* * *

Tuttle Urges Legalizing Of Beer

Charles H. Tuttle, former United States attorney and republican candidate for governor in 1930, has come out for the immediate legalizing of beer. In a speech celebrating Constitution day he declared that the 18th amendment had failed, that the road to repeal was too long to be practicable, but that beer might be legalized now. He maintained that such a move would make new work, would form a new outlet for the grain of the country and would lighten the burden of the taxpayer. On this proposal Mr. Victor of the Anti-saloon league has written a letter to the New York Evening Post, which has been advocating the same general plan. Mr. Victor asks how the Post proposes to distribute this beer, through saloons or, if not, through what substitute? Some other pertinent questions are in his letter.

* * *

Union Seminary Begins New Term

Union theological seminary begins its ninety-sixth year next week. The opening address will be delivered in James Memorial chapel by Prof. James Edward Frame of the seminary. His subject will be "The Cultivated Minister."

* * *

Arnold Johnson Released

Arnold Johnson, the Union seminary student who has been in prison in Harlan, Ky., for the "crime" of befriending the striking miners, has been released and is now in the city. He will probably have to stand trial sometime late in the fall, but in the meantime he expects to devote at least a portion of his time to raising funds for the imprisoned miners.

* * *

Jewish Day of Atonement

The great holy day of the Jewish faith begins tomorrow at sundown. Special services are scheduled in the synagogues of the city. Through the work of the national conference of Jews and Christians special notice of the Jewish holy days is being taken by many of our Christian pulpits. It is also pleasing to note that the acting commissioner of immigration has given instructions that all Jewish immigrants arriving at this port on the day prior to the day of atonement will be examined at the piers so that they need not go to Ellis island.

* * *

District Attorney Crain Urges Religious Education

District Attorney Crain has been speaking before the Society for the prevention of cruelty to children and in his address he took occasion to plead for religious education, which he described as a moral right of childhood. On this point he said, "Any education which leaves out entirely a child's relation to God is a one-sided education. I believe that religious teaching of a child in the faith of the parents should supplement his secular education. I believe that if this were done there would be a growth of morality and that there would be a diminishment of crime and an increase in human happiness."

* * *

Church of the Ascension Sounds Out Members on New Divorce Canon

In connection with the new canon on divorce now being debated by the Episcopal church at its convention in Denver the Church of the Ascension, at Fifth avenue and 11th street, has sent out a questionnaire to its members. A tabulation of the replies shows that an overwhelming majority of those answering believe that there ought to be some officer or church body to determine the facts in marital questions and when this officer or body approves of remarriage such marriage should be sanctioned with the regular marriage service as if it were a first marriage. The pastor of the church, the Rev. Donald Aldrich, states that he agrees with the view expressed by his parishioners and he believes this position to be in harmony with the spirit of Christ.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

XUM

Gandhi's Voice Heard in Boston

Candor of Indian Leader Impresses—"Church of the Air" Carries Sermon by Cardinal

(Correspondence from New England)

SOMERVILLE, MASS., Sept. 15.—"Uncle Dudley's" editorial in the Boston Globe yesterday commented on Mahatma Gandhi's "first radio broadcast," Sept. 13. "The reception here was perfect; the only thing approaching interference was a murmuring—the voices of the poor children who live in the house where he is staying and who clustered near the 'cell' where he spoke. Even their murmurs ceased when he said : 'On behalf of India's semi-starved millions, I appeal to the conscience of mankind to come to the rescue of people who are dying in order to regain their liberty.' He described the human race as 'sick unto death of blood-spilling' and as seeking another method of settling differences. Proudly he suggested: 'Perhaps it will be the privilege of the ancient land of India to show the way out to a hungering world!'

"The thing about the address which impressed listeners most was its absolute sincerity, his unsparing admissions of the weakness of the case which he must present. He expressed humiliation that Hindus believe that millions of their faith are born 'untouchables.' He spoke frankly of the violent divisions between Moslems and Hindus. In a newspaper interview, he offered to sign a blank piece of paper and let his Moslem friends write out the agreement. . . . He is not an alien fanatic new to western ways. He is descended from a line of prime-ministers in his native state. Before he abjured worldly gain, he was earning $10,000 a year as an attorney in British courts. . . . The loincloth is his armor. It is not shining, but there is something else shining. It is the spirit of the man himself!"

* * *

The Catholic Contribution to A Common Broadcast

Another striking demonstration that the message of religion may be heard over a continent at once, through the new invention which uses the waves of invisible ether, was the inauguration of "The Church of the Air" last Sunday, by the Columbia broadcasting system. At 10 a. m., 2:30 and 5:00 p. m., an Episcopalian, a Roman Catholic and a Jewish rabbi spoke to the whole country, from Denver, Boston and New York. Archbishop O'Connell was the second speaker. Apart from his claim that "the church of Christ"—that of Rome—"is the mouthpiece of Almighty God," his message accorded with the essential faith common to all three types of religion. "If you reject the divine principles on which human life and order are founded and maintained, you will find yourself headed for universal chaos. Injustice, greed, the pride of life are seeds of the whirlwind! . . . While those in civil authority

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are working out plans for regaining and preserving the welfare of the nation, let us on our part not forget to use the greatest instrument in the hands of man—prayer!"

* * *

Upward on the Climb to Highway Safety

Schools generally opened last week. Morgan T. Ryan, registrar of motor vehicles in Massachusetts, "appealed to motorists to maintain their excellent record, when for the first time in nearly two years, he was able to report for a seven-day period complete freedom from child fatalities on the highways of the state." The governor's committee on safety commends the city of Medford for going through the first seven months of the year without an automobile fatality; and Gardner, the only other city able to check off the first six months with a clean report. National figures give the honor of the first three places for "low automobile fatality ratings" to New England states, ranking thus, Vermont, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

E. Tallmadge Root.

Episcopal Pension Fund Has Paid Out $7,500,000

The pension fund of the Episcopal church has been in operation since 1916, and Bishop Lawrence, president of the fund, announces that to date $7,500,000 has been paid to retired clergymen. Its present assets amount to $28,000,000; pension payments are currently at the rate of a million a year. It has been possible to send a check for $1,000 as an immediate gift to the widow of every clergyman dying in active service. J. P. Morgan is treasurer of the fund.

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Give Rosenwald Civic Merit Award

Rotary Club Distinction Goes to Philanthropist—"Green Pastures" a Hit—Prepare for Relief Drive

(Correspondence from Chicago)

Chicago, Sept. 19.—Mr. Julius Rosenwald has been chosen for the first of the merit awards established by the Rotary club of Chicago. The presentation was made at a meeting of 1,000 Chicago citizens in the grand ballroom of the Sherman hotel on Sept. 8, but, unfortunately, Mr. Rosenwald was unable, on account of illness, to be present to receive the award personally. In his absence the beautiful Book of the Award, stating that the philanthropist, having "dedicated his fortune and his life to the well-being of mankind," had been selected for "the Chicago merit award, national," was accepted by his son, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald. A fine and true word was spoken by Mr. Leon F. Wormser on behalf of the Museum of Science and Industry, founded by Mr. Rosenwald, in accepting a bronze plaque to be placed in the museum. "The leadership of Mr. Rosenwald," said Mr. Wormser, "extends beyond giving. It is based on an underlying philosophy of the interrelation of men. The Julius Rosenwald fund was founded upon this doctrine. In all these endeavors his head, his hand and his heart—his body and his soul—serve. He gives energy, time, fortune, but above all, gives himself."

* * *

"Green Pastures" A Hit

"Everyone falls in love with 'Green Pastures,'" is the heading of Charles Collins' review of that play in the Chicago Tribune. One would like to quote the entire two column, charmingly written review, but one brief quotation must do. "Plays of this order," says Mr. Collins, "happen only once in a lifetime, or even less frequently." Every review that I have read, and every comment I have heard, give reason to believe that the notable success of "The Green Pastures" in its eighteen months' New York run will be repeated here in Chicago.

* * *

Churches Cooperate in Relief Drive

Mr. George W. Dixon, vice-president of the Chicago church federation, representative of the federation on the Cook county joint emergency relief committee, and a member of the governor's relief commission, has given assurance that the churches of Chicago are eager and prepared to do their part in providing relief for the unemployed during the coming winter. "The committee on churches last year functioned as a whole to spread the facts about unemployment to Chicago's 2,000,000 church workers," said Mr. Dixon, "and set up standards so that there would be no overlapping or duplication." The final report for last winter showed that 1,600 churches in Chicago raised $500,000 to care for their own unemployed, collected and distributed large quantities of food, clothing and fuel and $250,000 for denominational relief centers, and found jobs for 5,280 persons. It is the intention again this year to gear the church program into those of the governor's commission and the joint relief committee. The church federation commission on the church and industry, under the chairmanship of Dr. James Mullenbach, has been giving the matter careful attention for many months, and plans to make specific recommendations to the churches at an early date.

* * *

Congregationalists at Tower Hill

Each autumn the Congregationalists of Illinois hold a successful camp at Tower Hill, Sawyer, Michigan. This fall it is held under the auspices of the Congregational-Christian conference of Illinois, the wider fellowship being recognized in the conference organization. These brethren seem to think that religion has something to do with social living, for the conference topic is stated as "The Predatory Groups or the Big Fix." It is pointed out, however, that before the church is free to condemn certain practices it must make sure that it is not guilty of them. These, among other questions, are asked of the conference by Prof. A. E. Holt:

"What about exemption of church property, including parsonages, from taxation?"

"What about a church using political friends to 'get through' city hall building permits?"

"Are church members bound to present an honest report of their personal property for taxation?"

"What about the missionary receiving government aid for his schools and agreeing to keep quiet on civic matters?"

"What about the missionary in the foreign field depending upon his government for protection in time of political unrest?"

Dr. William S. Sadler, Chicago psychiatrist, speaking before the conference, urged pastors to prepare themselves to counsel the mentally distressed, and church people to seek such aid from their ministers. The present scope of pastoral training, he insisted, is hampered by want of practical psychology and psychiatry.

* * *

And So Forth

The Lakeview council of religious education, which is conducting Chicago's first experiment in Protestant week-day religious education, announces its program of church schools for the coming year. The classes are conducted on "released time" from the regular public school schedule. Encouraging reports are given relative to the first year's work.

Northwestern university is now receiving bids on the Thorne auditorium building to be erected on the downtown campus at a cost of approximately $300,000. The building will be in Tudor gothic architecture.

The Jewish temples and synagogues celebrated recently the ushering in of the year 5692.

Chicago school enrollment for this fall showed an increased number of students in high school. The sharply declining

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In an age when many things are passing, when many old landmarks of materialism are seemingly being washed away, the great hymns of the Church — cries of the soul to God — still remain. Their messages, indeed, are taking on new value for men and women in this tempestuous age. The poets, the singers, speak out of the eternal to the heart of man.

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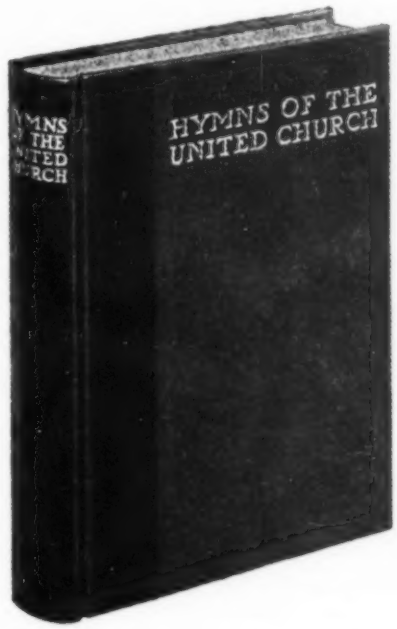

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birth rate, a hard-times phenomena, is reflected in marked decrease in enrollment in the lower grades.

Mr. Courtenay Barber was elected national president of the Episcopal Brotherhood of St. Andrew, at the recent triennial convention of that organization in Sewanee, Tennessee. The Brotherhood of St. Andrew, which was organized in Chicago, will hold its semi-centennial convention in this city in 1934.

Rev. Phillip Yarrow, undaunted by his recent jail sentence for the alleged trapping of a bookseller into selling an indecent book, is again vigorously leading the Illinois Vigilance association, of which he is superintendent. He recently led successful raids on certain notorious disorderly houses.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Presbyterian and United Presbyterian Union Committee Meets

The joint committee on organic union of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. and the United Presbyterian Church of North America, met at Ross Mountain Park, Pa., Sept. 9, 10. A basis of organic union and the necessary concurrent declarations and resolutions were formulated subject to review, and in such form unanimously agreed upon. Also a form of government and a book of discipline were presented, and submitted to a sub-committee for further report. The joint committee will meet again in Pittsburgh Nov. 10 of this year. The Presbyterian Banner reports that all members of the committee are greatly gratified at the progress made in the negotiations; a spirit of confidence and harmony marking all the sessions. The committee elected Rev. William J. Reid of the United Presbyterian church, chairman, and Rev. Lewis S. Mudge of the Presbyterian church, secretary.

Find Only 17 Per Cent of Movies Fit for Children

The motion picture department of the Parents' Magazine, which is conducted in cooperation with the General Federation of Women's Clubs, reports that it finds only 17 per cent of films now being shown in this country fit for children from 8 to 12 years of age; for adolescents from 12 to 16, 32 per cent are found suitable. The following pictures have been awarded the Parents' Magazine seal as outstanding for both adult and child audiences: "Cimarron," "City Lights," "Connecticut Yankee," "Conquering Horde," "Daddy Longlegs," "Father's Son," "The Great Meadow," "The Millionaire," "Pagliacci," "Shipmates," "Skippy," "Tom Sawyer" and "Trader Horn."

Dr. Judson Hill Dies After 50 Years Of Service in Negro Education

Rounding out to a day 50 years of distinguished service as president of the Normal and Industrial college at Morristown, Tenn., Dr. Judson B. Hill died Sept. 15 at Battle Creek, Mich. In 1881 Dr. Hill, as a young Methodist minister, became head of a pioneer mission school for Negroes at Morristown, and found himself misunderstood and ostracized, as he began his work in a dilapidated building formerly used as a slave market. Those who fought him, however, ultimately lauded him: for three years he represented the community as national councilor to the U. S. chamber of commerce; recently his city named in his honor the "Judson S. Hill school." The school which he started now has 12 buildings and 375 acres of campus; in all he raised and invested $1,500,000 in the maintenance and expansion of the school.

W. C. T. U. to Hold Prohibition Conferences Across the Country

The national W. C. T. U. has completed plans for 25 regional conferences starting at Washington, D. C., Dec. 4-6, and extending across the continent. These conferences aim to bring together every local, state and national woman leader on the dry side, and will constitute the W. C. T. U. advance work during the pre-election months.

Body and Soul Clinic Planned In Cincinnati

Dr. William S. Keller, president of the Social Hygiene society, one of the councils of the Public Health federation of Cincinnati, is planning to establish a social agency which will have as its chief aim the promotion of successful marriage and parenthood; the agency is expected to be a powerful blow at divorce. There are but two such agencies in the country, in Los Angeles and New York, but there are more than 100 in Europe, most of them being official in character.

Three Presbyterian Churches of Pittsburgh to Merge

Final plans for the merger of Second, First and Central Presbyterian churches of Pittsburgh have been approved at a mass meeting of the three congregations. The united congregation will adopt the name and charter of Second church. The merger calls for the erection of a half-million cathedral-type church building. Rev. Frank J. Bryson, of First church, and Rev. George W. Shelton of Second church will be associate pastors of the united congregation. Central church has had no leader in recent months.

Catholic Men to Discuss Crime And Unemployment

The National Council of Catholic Men, which holds its annual convention at Rochester, N. Y., Oct. 11-13, has planned for discussions centering around the study of conditions that lead to crime and disregard of law; a second subject for consideration is the problems of industry, with particular emphasis on unemployment. Nationally known sociologists, criminologists and lawyers will address the convention.

Canadian Churchmen to Hold Missionary Congress

A great gathering of ministers and laymen of the conferences of Ontario and Quebec is called for Oct. 1, 2. It will be a missionary congress, at which the issues that lie at the center of all the church's efforts will be discussed by notable speakers.

Seek to Break Wendel Will

The 100 million dollars left by Miss Ella Wendel, last of the millionaire Wendels, who died last spring, was to go by her wish to two Methodist divinity schools, two New York hospitals and an orphanage, but Arthur Garfield Hays, New York lawyer, is launching a fight to break the will in favor of 27 Americans who are nearest of kin to Miss Wendel.

Bishop Birney Returning To America

Bishop L. J. Birney, who has been seriously ill in China for many months, is to return to America this autumn, with Mrs. Birney, and will spend the winter in California.

Elliott Speer Takes Over Mt. Hermon Principalship

Rev. Elliott Speer, president of the Northfield schools, will become principal of Mt. Hermon school in June of next year, to succeed Dr. Henry F. Cutler, headmaster there for 30 years, whose resignation takes effect at that time. Mr. Speer has been granted a year's leave of absence, which period he will spend in Europe making a study of secondary education. Elliott Speer is a son of Dr. Robert E. Speer.

World Methodism at Atlanta Meet

The Atlanta committee of 100 ministers and laymen, directed by Bishop John M. Moore, has completed preparations for the sixth Ecumenical Methodist conference, to be held in that city Oct. 16-25. Wesley Memorial church will be conference headquarters, where morning sessions will be held; evening sessions at the city auditorium. A feature of the conference will be the presentation of the pageant "Heaven Bound" by 500 Atlanta Negroes.

Buffalo Church Uses Church Unemployed on New Building

Ontario Street United Presbyterian church, Buffalo, has laid the cornerstone of its new building, and the pastor, Rev. L. E. H. Smith, announces that about 85 per cent of the work on the building is being done by the unemployed of that parish.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Man's Own Show: Civilization, by George A. Dorsey, Harpers, $5.00.

The Scientific Outlook, by Bertrand Russell. Norton, $3.00.

Wet Parade, by Upton Sinclair. Farrar & Rinehart, $2.50.

Men of Earth, by Russell Lord. Longmans, $3.00.

From World Understanding to World Peace, edited by Hélène Claparède-Spir. Williams & Norgate, London, 6/6.

How Jesus Would Teach, by David R. Piper. David C. Cook Pub. Co.

Dry America, by Atticus Webb. Cokesbury,

These Agitators and Their Ideas, by Harry M. Chalfont. Cokesbury, $2.00.

The New Dimension in Religion, by Allyn K. Foster. Macmillan, $2.00.

The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come, by John Fox, Jr., with pictures by N. C. Wyeth. Scribners, $3.50.

Portrait of a Carpenter, by Winifred Kirkland. Scribners, $2.00.

The Golden Vase, by Ludwig Lewisohn. Harpers, $2.00.

The End of Exterritoriality in China, by Thomas F. Millard. A. B. C. Press, Shanghai.

The Tragedy of Josephine Maria, and other one-act plays, by Charles S. Brooks. Harcourt, Brace & Co., $2.50.

Radio Stories Re-told from St. Nicholas. Century Co., $1.25.

Six Women Along the Way from Bethlehem to Calvary, by Margaret E. Sangster. Brewer, Warren & Putnam, $2.00.

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COMMUNITY CHURCHES
David R. Piper

TINKER AND THINKER: JOHN BUNYAN
William H. Nelson

STRAIGHT ANSWERS TO LIFE QUESTIONS
Copeland Smith

WHAT AND WHY IN CHINA
Paul Hutchinson

THE THIRD WEAVER (Fiction)
Emily Calvin Blake

20TH CENTURY LOVE POEMS
Caroline M. Hill, Compiler

WHITE PEAKS AND GREEN (Poems)
Ethel Romig Fuller

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